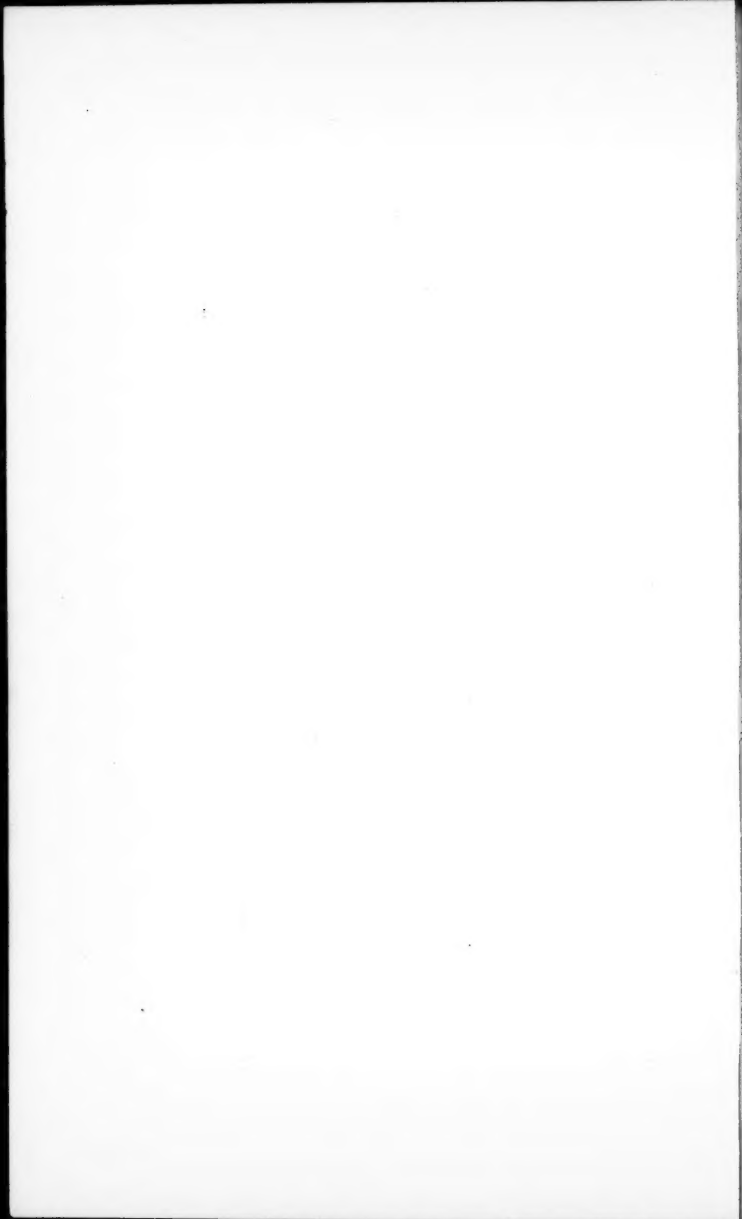


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# **Popular Catholic Action**

**POPE PIUS X.**

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## Popular Catholic Action



PIUS X., POPE.

"MOTU PROPRIO."

In our first Encyclical to the Bishops of the World, in which We echo all that Our glorious Predecessors had laid down concerning the Catholic action of the laity, We declared that this action was deserving of the highest praise, and was indeed necessary in the present condition of the Church and of society. And We cannot but warmly praise the zeal shown by so many illustrious personages who have for a long time dedicated themselves to this glorious task, and the ardour of so many brilliant young people who have eagerly hastened to lend their aid in the same. The nineteenth Catholic Congress lately held at Bologna, and by Us promoted and encouraged, has sufficiently proved to all the vigour of the Catholic forces and what useful and salutary results may be obtained among a population of believers, when this action is well governed and disciplined, and when unity of thought, sentiment and action prevail among those who take part in it.

But We are very sorry to find that certain differences which arose in the midst of them have produced discussions unfortunately too vivacious, which, if not dispelled in time, might serve to divide those forces of which We have spoken, and render them less efficacious. Before the Congress We recommended above all things unity and harmony, in order that it might be possible to lay down by common accord the general lines for the practical working of the Catholic movement, and We cannot therefore be silent now. And since divergences of view in matters of practice have commonly their origin in the domain of theory, and indeed necessarily find their fulcrum in the latter, it is necessary to define clearly the principles on which the entire Catholic movement must be based.

Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII. of holy memory, traced out luminously the rules that must be followed in the Christian movement among the people in the great Encyclicals *Quod Apostolici muneris* of December 28, 1878, *Rerum novarum* of May 15, 1891, and *Graves de Communi* of January 18, 1901, and further in a particular Instruction emanating from the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of January 27, 1902.

And We, realising, like Our Predecessor before Us, the great need that the Christian movement among the people be rightly governed and conducted, desire to have those most prudent rules exactly and completely fulfilled, and to provide that nobody may dare to depart from them in the smallest particulars. Hence, to keep them more vividly present before people's minds, We have deemed it well to summarise them in the following articles, which will constitute the fundamental plan of the Catholic popular movement.

## FUNDAMENTAL REGULATIONS.

I. Human society, as established by God, is composed of unequal elements, just as the different parts of the human body are unequal—to make them all equal is impossible, and would mean the destruction of human society (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

II. The equality existing among the various social members consists only in this; that all men have their origin in God the Creator, have been redeemed by Jesus Christ, and are to be judged and rewarded or punished by God exactly according to their merits or demerits (Encyclical, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

III. Hence it follows that there are, according to the ordinance of God, in human Society princes and subjects, masters and proletariat, rich and poor, learned and ignorant, nobles and plebeians, all of whom, united in the bonds of love, are to help one another to attain their last end in Heaven, and their material and moral welfare here on earth (Encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris*).

IV. Of the goods of the earth man has not merely the use, like the brute creation, but he has also the right of permanent proprietorship—and not merely of those things which are consumed by use, but also of those which are not consumed by use (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

V. The right of private property, the fruit of labour or industry, or of cession or donation by others, is an incontrovertible natural right; and everybody can dispose reasonably of such property as he thinks fit (Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*).

VI. To heal the breach between the rich and the poor, it is necessary to distinguish between justice and charity. There can be no claim for redress except when justice is violated (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

#### OBLIGATIONS OF JUSTICE.

VII. The following are obligations of justice binding on the proletariat and the working man: To perform fully and faithfully the work which has been freely and, according to equity, agreed upon; not to injure the property or outrage the person of masters; even in the defence of their own rights to abstain from acts of violence, and never to make mutiny of their defence (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

VIII. The following are obligations of justice binding on capitalists: To pay just wages to their workmen; not to injure their just savings by violence or fraud, or by overt or covert usuries; not to expose them to corrupting seductions and danger of scandal; not to alienate them from the spirit of family life and from love of economy; not to impose on them labour beyond their strength nor unsuitable for their age or sex (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

IX. It is an obligation for the rich and for those that own property to succour the poor and the indigent, according to the precepts of the Gospel. This obligation is so grave that on the Day of Judgment special account will be demanded of its fulfilment, as Christ Himself has said (Matthew xxv.) (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

X. The poor should not be ashamed of their poverty, nor disdain the charity of the rich, for they should have especially in view Jesus the Redeemer, who, though He

might have been born in riches, made Himself poor in order that he might ennoble poverty and enrich it with merits beyond price for heaven (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

XI. For the settlement of the social question much can be done by the capitalists and workers themselves, by means of institutions designed to provide timely aid for the needy, and to bring together and unite mutually the two classes. Among these institutions are mutual aid societies, various kinds of private insurance societies, orphanages for the young, and above all, associations among the different trades and professions (Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*).

#### CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

XII. This end is especially aimed at by the movement of Christian Popular Action of Christian Democracy in its many and varied branches. But Christian Democracy must be taken in the sense already authoritatively defined. Totally different from the movement known as *Social Democracy*, it has for basis the principles of Catholic faith and morals—especially the principle of not injuring in any way the inviolable right of private property (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*).

XIII. Moreover, Christian Democracy must have nothing to do with politics, and never be made to serve political ends or parties; this is not its field; but it must be a beneficent movement for the people, and founded on the law of nature and the precepts of the Gospel (Encyclical, *Graves de Communi*. Instructions of the S. Con. for E. E. Affairs).

Christian Democrats in Italy must abstain from partici-

pating in any political action—this is under the present circumstances forbidden to every Catholic *for reasons of the highest order* (Instruction).

XIV. In performing its functions Christian Democracy is bound most strictly to depend upon ecclesiastical authority, and to offer full submission and obedience to the bishops and to those who represent them. There is no meritorious zeal or sincere piety in enterprises, however beautiful and good in themselves, when they are not approved by the Pastor (*Encyclical, Graves de Communi*).

XV. In order that the Christian Democratic movement in Italy may be united in its efforts, it must be under the direction of the Association of Catholic Congresses and Committees, which, during many years of fruitful labour, has deserved so well of Holy Church, and to which Pius IX. and Leo XIII. of holy memory, entrusted the charge of directing the whole Catholic movement, always, of course, under the auspices and guidance of the bishops (*Encyclical, Graves de Communi*).

#### CATHOLIC WRITERS.

XVI. Catholic writers must, in all that touches religious interests and the action of the Church in society, subject themselves entirely in intellect and will, like the rest of the faithful, to their bishops and to the Roman Pontiff. They must above all take care not to anticipate the judgments of the Holy See in this important matter (*Instruction*).

XVII. Christian Democratic writers must, like all other Catholic writers, submit to the previous examination of the ordinary all writings which concern religion, Christian morals, and natural ethics, by virtue of the Constitution

*Officiorum et munerum* (Art. 41). By the same Constitution ecclesiastics must obtain the previous consent of the Ordinary for the publication of writings of a merely technical character (Instruction).

XVIII. They must, moreover, make every effort and every sacrifice to ensure that charity and concord may reign among them. When causes of disagreement arise, they should, instead of printing anything on the matter in the papers, refer it to the ecclesiastical authority, which will then act with justice. And when taken to task by the ecclesiastical authority, let them obey promptly without tergiversation or giving vent to public complaints—the right of appeal to a higher authority being understood when the case requires it, and to be made in the right way (Instruction).

XIX. Finally, let Catholic writers take care, when defending the cause of the proletariat and the poor, not to use language calculated to inspire aversion among the people for the upper classes of society. Let them refrain from speaking of redress and justice when the matter comes within the domain of charity only, as has been explained above. Let them remember that Jesus Christ endeavoured to unite all men in the bond of mutual love, which is the perfection of justice, and which carries with it the obligation of working for the welfare of one another (Instruction).

The foregoing fundamental rules We of Our own initiative and with certain knowledge do renew by Our apostolic authority in all their parts, and We do ordain that they be transmitted to all Catholic Committees, Societies and Unions of every kind. All these societies are to keep them exposed in their rooms and to have them read fre-

quently at their meetings. We ordain, moreover, that Catholic papers publish them in their entirety and make declaration of their observance of them—and, in fact, observe them religiously; failing to do this they are to be gravely admonished, and if they do not then amend let them be interdicted by ecclesiastical authority.

But as words and energetic action are of no avail unless preceded, accompanied and followed constantly by example, the necessary characteristic which should shine forth in all the members of every Catholic association is that of openly manifesting their faith by the holiness of their lives, by the spotlessness of their morals, and by the scrupulous observance of the laws of God and of the Church. And this because it is the duty of every Christian, and also in order that *who stands against us may blush, having nothing evil to say of us* (Tit. ii., 8).

From this solicitude of Ours for the common good of Catholic action, especially in Italy, We hope, through the blessing of God, to reap abundant and happy fruits.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on December 18, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.



## **Sacred Music.**

**Pius X., Pope.**

**"MOTU PROPRIO."**

Among the cares of the pastoral office, not only of this Supreme Chair, which We, though unworthy, occupy through the inscrutable disposition of Providence, but of every local church, a leading one is without question that of maintaining and promoting the decorum of the House of God in which the august mysteries of religion are celebrated, and where the Christian people assemble to receive the grace of the Sacraments, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the altar, to adore the most august sacrament of the Lord's Body and to unite in the common prayer of the Church in the public and solemn liturgical offices. Nothing should have place, therefore, in the temple calculated to disturb or even merely to diminish the piety and devotion of the faithful, nothing that may give reasonable cause for disgust or scandal, nothing, above all, which directly offends the decorum and sanctity of the sacred functions and is thus unworthy of the House of Prayer and of the Majesty of God. We do not touch separately on the abuses in this matter which may arise. To-day Our attention is directed to one of the most common of them, one of the most difficult to eradicate, and the existence of which is sometimes to be deplored in places where everything else is deserving of the highest praise—the beauty and sumptuousness of the temple, the splendour and the accurate performance of the ceremonies, the attendance of the clergy, the gravity and piety of the offi-

ciating ministers. Such is the abuse affecting sacred chant and music. And indeed, whether it is owing to the very nature of this art, fluctuating and variable as it is in itself, or to the succeeding changes in tastes and habits with the course of time, or to the fatal influence exercised on sacred art by profane and theatrical art, or to the pleasure that music directly produces, and that is not always easily contained within the right limits, or finally to the many prejudices on the matter, so lightly introduced and so tenaciously maintained even among responsible and pious persons, the fact remains that there is a general tendency to deviate from the right rule, prescribed by the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship and which is set forth very clearly in the ecclesiastical Canons, in the Ordinances of the General and Provincial Councils, in the prescriptions which have at various times emanated from the Sacred Roman Congregations, and from Our Predecessors the Sovereign Pontiffs.

It is grateful for us to be able to acknowledge with real satisfaction the large amount of good that has been effected in this respect during the last decade in this Our fostering city of Rome, and in many churches in Our country, but in a more especial way among some nations in which illustrious men, full of zeal for the worship of God, have, with the approval of the Holy See and under the direction of the Bishops, united in flourishing Societies and restored sacred music to the fullest honour in all their churches and chapels. Still the good work that has been done is very far indeed from being common to all, and when We consult Our own personal experience and take into account the great number of complaints that have reached Us during the short time that has elapsed since it pleased the Lord to elevate Our humility to the

supreme summit of the Roman Pontificate, We consider it Our first duty, without further delay, to raise Our voice at once in reproof and condemnation of all that is seen to be out of harmony with the right rule above indicated, in the functions of public worship and in the performance of the ecclesiastical offices. Filled as We are with a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful, We deem it necessary to provide before aught else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable fount, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church. And it is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us, when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odour of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges wherewith of old the Divine Redeemer drove the unworthy profaners from the Temple.

Hence, in order that no one for the future may be able to plead in excuse that he did not clearly understand his duty and that all vagueness may be eliminated from the interpretation of matters which have already been commanded, We have deemed it expedient to point out briefly the principles regulating sacred music in the functions of public worship, and to gather together in a general survey the principal prescriptions of the Church against the more common abuses in this subject. We do therefore publish, *motu proprio* and with certain knowledge, Our present *Instruction* to which, as to a *juridical code of sacred music* (*quasi a codice giuridice della musica sacra*), We will with the fullness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all.

## INSTRUCTION ON SACRED MUSIC.

## I.

## GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

Sacred music, being a complementary part of the solemn liturgy, participates in the general scope of the liturgy, which is the glory of God and the sanctification and edification of the faithful. It contributes to the decorum and the splendour of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and since its principal office is to clothe with suitable melody the liturgical text proposed for the understanding of the faithful, its proper aim is to add greater efficacy to the text, in order that through it the faithful may be the more easily moved to devotion and better disposed for the reception of the fruits of grace belonging to the celebration of the most holy mysteries.

2. Sacred music should consequently possess, in the highest degree, the qualities proper to the liturgy, and precisely *sanctity* and *goodness of form*, from which its other character of *universality* spontaneously springs.

It must be *holy*, and must, therefore, exclude all profanity not only in itself, but in the manner in which it is presented by those who execute it.

It must be true art, for otherwise it will be impossible for it to exercise on the minds of those who listen to it that efficacy which the Church aims at obtaining in admitting into her liturgy the art of musical sounds.

But it must, at the same time, be universal in the sense that while every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them.

## II.

## THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SACRED MUSIC.

3. These qualities are to be found, in the highest degree, in the Gregorian chant, which is, consequently, the Chant proper to the Roman Church, the only chant she has inherited from the ancient fathers, which she has jealously guarded for centuries in her liturgical codices, which she directly proposes to the faithful as her own, which she prescribes exclusively for some parts of the liturgy, and which the most recent studies have so happily restored to their integrity and purity.

On these grounds the Gregorian Chant has always been regarded as the supreme model for sacred music, so that it is fully legitimate to lay down the following rule: *the more closely a composition for church approaches in its movement, inspiration and savour the Gregorian form, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy it is of the temple.*

The ancient traditional Gregorian Chant must, therefore, be largely restored to the function of public worship, and everybody must take for certain that an ecclesiastical function loses nothing of its solemnity when it is accompanied by no other music but this.

Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of the Gregorian Chant by the people, so that the faithful may again take a more active part in the ecclesiastical offices, as was the case in ancient times.

4. The above-mentioned qualities are also possessed in an excellent degree by the classic polyphony, especially of the Roman School, which reached its greatest perfection in the fifteenth century, owing to the works of Pierluigi da

Palestrina, and continued subsequently to produce compositions of excellent quality from the liturgical and musical standpoint. The classic polyphony agrees admirably with Gregorian Chant, the supreme model of all sacred music, and hence it has been found worthy of a place side by side with the Gregorian Chant in the more solemn functions of the Church, such as those of the Pontifical Chapel. This, too, must therefore, be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions, especially in the more important basilicas, in cathedrals, and in the churches and chapels of seminaries and other ecclesiastical institutions in which the necessary means are usually not lacking.

5. The Church has always recognised and favoured the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of the cult everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently modern music is also admitted to the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions.

Still, since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces.

6. Among the different kinds of modern music that which appears less suitable for accompanying the functions of public worship is the theatrical style, which was in the greatest vogue, especially in Italy, during the last century. This of its very nature is diametrically opposed to the Gregorian Chant and the classic polyphony, and there-

fore to the most important law of all good music. Besides the intrinsic structure, the rhythm and what is known as the *conventionalism* of this style adapt themselves but badly to the requirements of true liturgical music.

### III.

#### THE LITURGICAL TEXT.

7. The language proper to the Roman Church is Latin. Hence it is forbidden to sing anything whatever in the vernacular in solemn liturgical functions—much more to sing in the vernacular the variable or common parts of the Mass and Office.

8. As the texts that may be rendered in music, and the order in which they are to be rendered, are determined for every liturgical function, it is not lawful to confuse this order or to change the prescribed texts for others selected at will, or to omit them either entirely or even in part, unless when the rubrics allow that some versicles of the text be supplied with the organ, while these versicles are simply recited in the choir. However it is permissible, according to the custom of the Roman Church, to sing a motett to the Blessed Sacrament after the *Benedictus* in a Solemn Mass. It is also permitted, after the Offertory prescribed for the Mass has been sung, to execute during the time that remains a brief motett to words approved by the Church.

9. The liturgical text must be sung as it is in the books, without alteration or inversion of the words, without undue repetition, without breaking syllables, and always in a manner intelligible to the faithful who listen.

## IV.

## EXTERNAL FORM OF THE SACRED COMPOSITIONS.

10. The different parts of the Mass and the Office must retain, even musically, that particular concept and form which ecclesiastical tradition has assigned to them, and which is admirably expressed in the Gregorian Chant. Different, therefore, must be the method of composing an *introit*, a *gradual*, an *antiphon*, a *psalm*, a *hymn*, a *Gloria in Excelsis*.

11. In particular the following rules are to be observed:

(a) The *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, &c., of the Mass must preserve the unity of composition proper to their text. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose them in separate pieces, in such a way that each of such pieces may form a complete composition in itself, and be capable of being detached from the rest and substituted by another.

(b) In the office of Vespers it should be the rule to follow the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum*, which prescribes the Gregorian Chant for the psalmody and permits figured music for the versicles of the *Gloria Patri* and the hymn.

It will nevertheless be lawful on the greater solemnities to alternate the Gregorian Chant of the choir with the so-called *falsi-bordoni* or with verses similarly composed in a proper manner.

It may be also allowed sometimes to render the single psalms in their entirety in music, provided the form proper to psalmody be preserved in such compositions; that is to say, provided the singers seem to be psalmodising among themselves, either with new motifs or with those taken from the Gregorian Chant or based upon it.

The psalms known as *di concerto* are therefore for ever excluded and prohibited.



(c) In the hymns of the Church the traditional form of the hymn is preserved. It is not lawful, therefore, to compose, for instance, a *Tantum ergo* in such wise that the first strophe presents a romanza, a cavatina, an adagio and the *Genitori* an allegro.

(d) The antiphons of the Vespers must be as a rule rendered with the Gregorian melody proper to each. Should they, however, in some special case be sung in figured music they must never have either the form of a concert melody or the fullness of a motett or a cantata.

## V.

### THE SINGERS.

12. With the exception of the melodies proper to the celebrant at the altar and to the ministers, which must be always sung only in Gregorian Chant, and without the accompaniment of the organ, all the rest of the liturgical chant belongs to the choir of levites, and, therefore, singers in church, even when they are laymen, are really taking the place of the ecclesiastical choir. Hence the music rendered by them must, at least for the greater part, retain the character of choral music.

By this it is not to be understood that solos are entirely excluded. But solo singing should never predominate in such a way as to have the greater part of the liturgical chant executed in that manner; rather should it have the character or hint of a melodic projection (*spunto*), and be strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition.

13. On the same principle it follows that singers in church have a real liturgical office, and that therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir or of the musi-

cal chapel. Whenever, then, it is desired to employ the acute voices of sopranos and contraltos, these parts must be taken by boys, according to the most ancient usage of the Church.

14. Finally, only those are to be admitted to form part of the musical chapel of a church who are men of known piety and probity of life, and these should by their modest and devout bearing during the liturgical functions show that they are worthy of the holy office they exercise. It will also be fitting that singers while singing in church wear the ecclesiastical habit and surplice, and that they be hidden behind gratings when the choir is excessively open to the public gaze.

## VI.

### ORGAN AND INSTRUMENTS.

15. Although the music proper to the Church is purely vocal music, music with the accompaniment of the organ is also permitted. In some special cases, within due limits and within the proper regards, other instruments may be allowed, but never without the special license of the Ordinary, according to prescriptions of the *Caerimoniale Episcoporum*.

16. As the chant should always have the principal place, the organ or instruments should merely sustain and never oppress it.

17. It is not permitted to have the chant preceded by long preludes or to interrupt it with intermezzo pieces.

18. The sound of the organ as an accompaniment to the chant in preludes, interludes, and the like must be not only governed by the special nature of the instrument, but must participate in all the qualities proper to sacred music as above enumerated.

19. The employment of the piano is forbidden in church, as is also that of noisy or frivolous instruments such as drums, cymbals, bells and the like.

20. It is strictly forbidden to have bands play in church, and only in a special case and with the consent of the Ordinary will it be permissible to admit a number of wind instruments, limited, judicious, and proportioned to the size of the place—provided the composition and accompaniment to be executed be written in a grave and suitable style, and similar in all respects to that proper to the organ.

21. In processions outside the church the Ordinary may give permission for a band, provided no profane pieces are executed. It would be desirable in such cases that the band confine itself to accompanying some spiritual canticle sung in Latin or in the vernacular by the singers and the pious associations which take part in the procession.

## VII.

### THE LENGTH OF THE LITURGICAL CHANT.

22. It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the *Sanctus* of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must **here** have regard for the singers. The *Gloria* and the *Credo* ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short.

23. In general it must be considered to be a very **grave abuse** when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.

## VIII.

## PRINCIPAL MEANS.

24. For the exact execution of what has been herein laid down, the Bishops, if they have not already done so, are to institute in their dioceses a special Commission composed of persons really competent in sacred music, and to this Commission let them entrust in the manner they find most suitable the task of watching over the music executed in their churches. Nor are they to see merely that the music is good in itself, but also that it is adapted to the powers of the singers and be always well executed.

25. In seminaries of clerics and in ecclesiastical institutions let the above-mentioned traditional Gregorian Chant be cultivated by all with diligence and love, according to the Tridentine prescriptions, and let the superiors be liberal of encouragement in praise toward their young subjects. In like manner let a *Schola Cantorum* be established, whenever possible, among the clerics for the execution of sacred polyphony and of good liturgical music.

26. In the ordinary lessons of Liturgy, Morals, Canon Law given to the students of theology, let care be taken to touch on those points which regard more directly the principles and laws of sacred music, and let an attempt be made to complete the doctrine with some particular instruction in the æsthetic side of the sacred art, so that the clerics may not leave the seminary ignorant of all those notions, necessary as they are for complete ecclesiastical culture.

27. Let care be taken to restore, at least in the principal churches, the ancient *Scholæ Cantorum*, as has been done with excellent fruit in a great many places. It is not

difficult for a zealous clergy to institute such *Scholæ* even in the minor and country churches—nay, in them they will find a very easy means for gathering around them both the children and the adults, to their own profit and the edification of the people.

28. Let efforts be made to support and promote in the best way possible, the higher schools of sacred music where these already exist, and to help in founding them where they do not. It is of the utmost importance that the Church herself provide for the instruction of its Masters, organists, and singers, according to the true principles of sacred art.

## IX.

### CONCLUSION.

29. Finally, it is recommended to choir-masters, singers, members of the clergy, superiors of seminaries, ecclesiastical institutions, and religious communities, parish priests and rectors of churches, canons of collegiate churches and cathedrals, and, above all, to the diocesan ordinaries to favour with all zeal these prudent reforms, long desired and demanded with united voice by all; so that the authority of the Church, which herself has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them, may not fall into contempt.

Given from Our Apostolic Palace at the Vatican, on the day of the Virgin and Martyr, St. Cecilia, November 22, 1903, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

## **Papal Letter to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome.**



The carrying out of the above regulations for the restoration of sacred music is laid upon Cardinal Respighi, Vicar-General of Rome, in the following letter from His Holiness :

Lord Cardinal,—The desire to see flourish again in all places the decorum and the dignity and holiness of the liturgical functions has determined Us to make known by a special writing under Our own hand Our will with regard to the sacred music which is largely employed in the service of public worship. We cherish the hope that all will second Us in this desired restoration, and not merely with that blind submission, always laudable though it be, which is accorded out of a pure spirit of obedience to commands that are onerous and contrary to one's own manner of thinking and feeling, but with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate persuasion of having to do so on grounds duly weighed, clear, evident, and beyond question.

Even a little reflection on the end for which art is admitted to the service of public worship, and on the supreme fitness of offering to the Lord only things in themselves good, and where possible, excellent, will at once serve to show that the prescriptions of the Church regarding sacred music are but the immediate application of those two fundamental principles. When the clergy and choirmasters are penetrated with them, good sacred

music flourishes spontaneously, as has been constantly observed, and continues to be observed in a great many places; when on the contrary those principles are neglected, neither prayers, admonitions, severe and repeated orders nor threats of canonical penalties suffice to effect any change; for passion, and when not passion a shameful and inexcusable ignorance, always finds a means of eluding the will of the Church, and continuing for years in the same reprehensible way.

This alacrity of will We look for in a very special way among the clergy and faithful of this Our beloved City of Rome, the centre of Christendom and the seat of the Supreme Authority of the Church. Indeed it would seem but natural that none should more deeply feel the influx of Our word than those who hear it directly from Our mouth, and that the example of loving and filial submission to Our fatherly invitations should be given with greater solicitude by none more than by that first and most noble portion of the flock of Christ, the Church of Rome, which has been specially entrusted to Our pastoral care as Bishop. Besides, this example is to be given in the sight of the whole world. Bishops and the faithful are continually coming here from all parts to honour the Vicar of Christ and to renew their spirit by visiting our venerable basilicas and the tombs of the martyrs, and by assisting with redoubled fervour at the solemnities which are here celebrated with all pomp and splendour throughout the year. "*Optamus ne moribus nostris offensi recedant,*" said Our predecessor Benedict XIV. in his own time in his Encyclical Letter *Annus qui*, speaking of this very subject of sacred music: "We desire that they may not return to their own countries scandalised by our customs." And farther on, touching on the abuse of instruments which

then prevailed, the same Pontiff said: "What opinion will be formed of us by those who, coming from countries in which instruments are not used in church, hear them in our churches, just as they might in theatres and other profane places? They will come, too, from places and countries where there is singing and music in the churches of the same kind as in ours. But if they are persons of sound judgment, they must be grieved not to find in our music that remedy for the evil in their own churches which they came hither to seek." In other times the contradiction between the music usually executed in the churches and the ecclesiastical laws and prescriptions was, perhaps, far less noticeable, and the scandal caused by this contradiction was doubtless more circumscribed, precisely because the evil was more widely diffused and general. But now that so much study has been employed by distinguished men in illustrating the liturgy and the art used in the service of public worship, that such consoling, and not unfrequently, such splendid results have been obtained in so many churches throughout the world in the restoration of sacred music, notwithstanding the very serious difficulties that had to be faced, and that have been happily overcome; now, in fine, that the necessity of a complete change in the order of things has come to be universally appreciated, every abuse in this matter becomes intolerable, and must be removed.

You, therefore, Lord Cardinal, in your high office as Our Vicar in Rome for spiritual matters, will, We are sure, exert yourself with the gentleness that is characteristic of you, but with equal firmness, to the end that the music executed in the churches and chapels of the secular and regular clergy of this City may be in entire harmony with Our instructions. There is much to be corrected or



removed in the chants of the Mass, of the Litany of Loreto, of the Eucharistic hymns, but that which needs a thorough renewal is the singing of the Vespers of the feasts celebrated in the different churches and basilicas. The liturgical prescriptions of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* and the beautiful musical traditions of the classical Roman school are no longer to be found. For the devout psalmody of the clergy, in which the people also used to join, there have been substituted interminable musical compositions on the words of the psalms, all of them modelled on old theatrical works, and most of them of such meagre artistic value that they would not be tolerated for a moment even in our second-rate concerts. Certain it is that Christian piety and devotion are not promoted by them; the curiosity of some of the less intelligent is fed, but the majority, disgusted and scandalised, wonder how it is that such an abuse can still survive. We therefore wish the cause to be completely extirpated, and that the solemnity of Vespers should be celebrated according to the liturgical rules indicated by Us. The Patriarchal basilicas will lead the way by the example of solicitous care and enlightened zeal of the Lords Cardinals who preside over them, and with these will vie especially the minor basilicas, and the collegiate and parochial churches, as well as the churches and chapels of the religious orders. And do you, Lord Cardinal, neither grant indulgence nor concede delays. The difficulty is not diminished but rather augmented by postponement, and since the thing is to be done let it be done immediately and resolutely. Let all have confidence in Us and in Our word, with which heavenly grace and blessing are united. At first the novelty will produce some wonder among individuals; here and there a leader or director of a choir may find himself

somewhat unprepared; but little by little things will right themselves, and in the perfect harmony between the music with the liturgical rules and the nature of the psalmody all will discern a beauty and a goodness which have perhaps never before been observed. The Vesper service will indeed be notably shortened. But if the rectors of the churches desire on a special occasion to prolong the function somewhat, in order to detain the people who are wont so laudably to go in the evening to the particular church where the feast is being celebrated, there is nothing to hinder them—nay, it will rather be so much gained for the piety and edification of the faithful—if they have a suitable sermon after the Vespers, closed with Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

Finally, We desire that sacred music be cultivated with special care and in the proper way in all the seminaries and ecclesiastical colleges of Rome, in which such a large and choice body of young clerics from all parts of the world are being educated in the sacred sciences and in the ecclesiastical spirit. We know, and We are greatly comforted by the knowledge, that in some institutions sacred music is in such a flourishing condition that it may serve as a model for others. But there are some seminaries and colleges which leave much to be desired owing to the carelessness of the superiors, or the want of capacity and the imperfect taste of the persons to whom the teaching of the chant and the direction of the sacred music is entrusted. You, Lord Cardinal, will be good enough to provide a remedy for this also with solicitude, by insisting especially that the Gregorian Chant, according to the prescriptions of the Council of Trent and of innumerable other councils, provincial and diocesan in all parts of the world, be studied with particular diligence, and be as a

rule preferred in the public and private functions of the institute. It is true that in other times the Gregorian Chant was known to most only through books which were incorrect, vitiated and curtailed. But the accurate and prolonged study that has been given to it by illustrious men who have done a great service to sacred art has changed the face of things. The Gregorian Chant restored in such a satisfactory way to its early purity, as it was handed down by the fathers and is found in the codices of the various churches, is sweet, soft, easy to learn and of a beauty so fresh and full of surprises that wherever it has been introduced it has never failed to excite real enthusiasm in the youthful singers. Now, when delight enters into the fulfilment of duty, everything is done with greater alacrity and with more lasting fruit. It is Our will, therefore, that in all seminaries and colleges in this fostering city there be introduced once more the most ancient Roman chant which used to resound in our churches and basilicas and which formed the delight of past generations in the fairest days of Christian piety. And as in former times that chant was spread abroad over the whole Western Church from Rome, so We desire that Our young clerics, educated under Our own eyes, may carry it with them and diffuse it again in their own dioceses when they return thither as priests to work for the glory of God. We are overjoyed to be able to give these regulations at a time when we are about to celebrate the 15th centenary of the death of the glorious and incomparable Pontiff St. Gregory the Great, to whom an ecclesiastical tradition dating back many centuries has attributed the composition of these sacred melodies and from whom they have derived their name. Let Our dearly-beloved youths exercise themselves in them, for it will

be sweet to Us to hear them when, as We have been told will be the case, they will assemble at the coming centenary celebrations round the tomb of the Holy Pontiff in the Vatican Basilica during the Sacred Liturgy which, please God, will be celebrated by Us on that auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile as a pledge of Our particular benevolence, receive, Lord Cardinal, the Apostolic Benediction which from the bottom of Our heart We impart to you, to the clergy, and to all Our most beloved people.

From the Vatican on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of 1903.

PIUS X., POPE.

## The Diffusion of the Most Important Religious Beliefs at the Close of the Nineteenth Century.



Since the beginning of the past century repeated attempts have been made to give the number of the world's population, according to its religious beliefs. The oldest and best known statistics of this kind are those of the famous geographer, Malte-Brun. In 1810 he calculated the entire population of the world as being 640 millions; and these numbers absconding from Fetich Worshipers and other pagans not better known, he has divided into the following groups according to their respective regions:

|                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| Christians .....  | 220,000,000 |
| Buddhists .....   | 150,000,000 |
| Brahmins .....    | 60,000,000  |
| Mohammedans ..... | 110,000,000 |
| Jews .....        | 5,000,000   |

The accounts of Graberg (1813) and Pinkerton (1817) have furnished us with very similar results, excepting that the latter believes the number of Christians ought to be rated at about 15 millions, that of the Buddhists at about 30 and the Mohammedans at about 10 millions higher. In marked contrast, however, to these results is Malte-Brun's second list of the year 1846:

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|                             |             |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Christians .....            | 260,000,000 |
| Buddhists .....             | 200,000,000 |
| Brahmins .....              | 70,000,000  |
| Followers of Confucius..... | 110,000,000 |
| Mohammedans .....           | 110,000,000 |
| Jews .....                  | 5,000,000   |
| Fetich Worshipers .....     | 140,000,000 |
| <hr/>                       |             |
| Total .....                 | 895,000,000 |

This table, with all its defects, shows, nevertheless, a marked advance upon the preceding calculations, inasmuch as the followers of Confucius, who were formerly not at all taken notice of, are not only mentioned here, but an attempt is made to give a near estimate of even the Fetich Worshipers. Therefore the total result—nearly 900 millions—comes much nearer to the number of the world's actual population, than the result obtained in the first estimates. Malte-Brun's table, therefore, remained for the following decades, the basis for further investigations. But while the aggregate result of the population of the world, in the beginning of the century was undoubtedly rated too low, yet, as time ran on men went to the other extreme, as is evident from the statistics of Huebner and Petermann, which were made in the middle of the century :

|                   | According<br>to Huebner. | According<br>to Petermann. |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Christians .....  | 470,000,000              | 334,000,000                |
| Buddhists .....   | 500,000,000              | 400,000,000                |
| Brahmins .....    | 150,000,000              | 160,000,000                |
| Mohammedans ..... | 80,000,000               | 200,000,000                |
| Jews .....        | 6,000,000                | 5,000,000                  |
| Others .....      | 256,000,000              | 200,000,000                |
| <hr/>             |                          |                            |
| Total .....       | 1,462,000,000            | 1,299,000,000              |

Although the individual divisions of these two tables, of which Petermann's is doubtless by far the more preferable, widely differ, yet this difference is still more obvious in the statistical accounts of religion which were made during the decades immediately following. Thus we find, for example, in the tables of Rhys and Davids (1884) and Spofford (1881), which were almost simultaneously arranged, that the former fixes the number of Christians at 327 millions, of Buddhists at 500 and the followers of Confucius at 155 millions; while Spofford estimated the number of Christians to be 388, of Buddhists 340 and of the followers of Confucius at 80 millions.

The great disparity which appears in these accounts proves that some radical mistake must underlie their method of calculation. Only partially reliable statistics of all the religious denominations are possible from a census of the population which takes in only the number of those who adhere to different political parties, and upon which is founded as a basis the divisions of the population according to their religious tenets. This fact did not, until the last decades of the past century, receive due attention from those who investigated statistics of religion. The total number of the adherents of a particular belief of entire continents were taken as a whole without due consideration being given to the separate countries forming those continents.

The slight knowledge of the various religions of Asia gave rise to a far greater source of error. The entire population of China, Japan and Farther India, except the comparatively less numerous Mohammedans and Christians, were originally included among the Buddhists. And even if Malte-Brun, as we have seen in his second table, has attempted to make a distinction among the

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followers of Confucius, geographers and statisticians, notwithstanding, did not commonly know, until the last decades of the past century, of the fact of the spread of Ancestor Worshipers and of Taoism in China, and of Shintoism in Japan. To this error was added a glaring overestimate of the population of China, which was generally rated at 400 millions, by some even at 500 millions and over, while, according to more recent investigations, the results scarcely go beyond 300 millions. These mistakes explain the much overrated estimate of Buddhism. The numbers of Buddhists were fixed at 400 or 500 millions, and consequently Buddhism was supposed to be the most widespread of religions, since its members numbered more than one-third of the whole population of the world, while the number of Christians fell far below these figures. It can scarcely be doubted to-day that Christianity, as well as Ancestral Worship, that Brahminism and Mohammedanism have more adherents than Buddhism.

We will, therefore, try, with the help of the latest statistics, to show how the various creeds have spread according to countries, and from the individual results obtain the total number of the followers of the more predominant religions. The deep and careful work of Fournier de Flaix, the French statistician, which was published in 1889 in the *Bulletin de l'institut international de statistiques*,<sup>1</sup> will serve us as a model. The figures, however, there found for the population of Europe, America and Australia can hardly be accepted now, in view of the rapid and wonderful growth of the population of those parts. Besides Fournier's results are generally based upon the census reports made during the eighties of the

<sup>1</sup>Tome IV, 2 livraison (Rome, 1890), 125-146.



preceding century and are therefore supplied by us with more recent data. His results, however, of Asia and Africa, where the population is generally not so fluctuating, and where, for lack of authentic census reports, it is very difficult to ascertain the real facts of public events, his results, I say, are still reliable and so can be taken as a basis of this part of our investigation. We will also have to correct some of the figures here, especially those which pertain to the number of Christians who have increased not a little in these two continents within the past 20 years. We will use for our purpose, so far as no official statistics of European possessions are available, the accounts of Catholic and Protestant missionaries.<sup>2</sup> We will mention as the main source of our information on Catholic missions the III. vol. of the excellent work of P. M. Baumgarten: "Das Wirken der Katholischen Kirche auf dem Erdenrund."<sup>3</sup> We have also consulted the "Missiones Catholicæ,"<sup>4</sup> issued by the Propaganda, and the journal of "Die Katholischen Missionen."<sup>5</sup> On Protestant missions we have availed ourselves of Grunemann's "Kleine Missions-Geographie und Statistik,"<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The latter contain as a rule only the number of Christians converted from Paganism, not those of European settlers. Although the number of Christians of European extraction is rather small in Protestant missions, and since the missions that show a greater percentage of European colonists are generally included in the official census of religions, they cannot therefore affect to any great extent the total result. The figures of Protestant missionaries sometimes include a number of so-called "candidates," which is not done by Catholics.

<sup>3</sup>Munich, 1901.

<sup>4</sup>1901.

<sup>5</sup>Freiberg, Herder.

<sup>6</sup>Cahn and Stuttgart, 1901.

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Warneck's "Protestantische Mission unter den Heiden"<sup>7</sup> and Schneider's "Kirchliches Jahrbuch."<sup>8</sup> But in all cases where the official census of calculations of distinguished statisticians were at hand we have preferred them to that of the missionaries.

Not that we consider the results of official statistics of religion under all circumstances as authentic, but we are of the opinion that when the followers of a Christian denomination are in the minority there the pastors are in a better position to arrive at the truth, than an official census, especially of an uncivilized people. But since experience has taught us that when the accounts by Catholic missionaries favor their own religion, those accounts are called in question by Protestants, and that on the other hand, accounts of Protestant missionaries are made a subject of doubt in the mind of Catholics, we have preferred on principle the official accounts which can, to a certain extent, be considered neutral in order to furnish, if possible, unobjectionable data. These official results are taken either directly from the State publications concerned, or from the following books of reference: "Gothaisher Hofkalender," for the year 1903, "The Statesman's Year Book" (1902), Huebner's "Geographischer Handbuch zu Andrees Handatlas."<sup>9</sup>

Lastly we will define as follows the terms attached to the adherents of the various religious denominations. We understand by the word "Catholic" only Roman

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<sup>7</sup>Realencyklopædie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche. (3. Aufl. Leipsig, 1903), Heft. 121-124.

<sup>8</sup>30. Jahrgang. Guetersloh, 1903.

<sup>9</sup>Aufl., Bielefeld, 1902.

Catholics of all rites; hence not the Old<sup>10</sup> or German Catholics, nor Jansenists, but the United Greeks or Catholics of the Greek rite, Syrians, Maronites, etc., who, with the Latins, recognize the Pope as their common head. We put the Schismatic Greeks, and the so-called Russian Orthodox under the heading "Orthodox Greek," while we designate the Schismatic Armenians, Nestorians, Christians of St. Thomas, and other Monophysites by the name of "Oriental Schismatics." The line of demarcation in the category of Protestantism presents special difficulties. We take the definition of Protestantism in its widest sense, and embrace in it all Christians who belong neither to the Catholic nor to any Schismatic Greek or Oriental Church, hence not only the Evangelicals, Lutherans and Calvinists, but also Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites, Dissenters, and all the other numerous denominations under this comprehensive definition of Protestantism. "Other Christians,"<sup>11</sup> unclassified, who are found in some official publications are always added by us to the numbers of the Protestant Church. Some one may object that by doing this we have put under one category elements which have nothing but this in common—that they do not profess the Catholic religion. We cannot deny the truth of this objection; but as long as the idea of

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<sup>10</sup>The number of Old-Catholics have indeed no place allotted to them in many official publications, and, therefore, their numbers cannot be distinguished from that of other denominations. Their aggregate is so insignificant that the error to which it has given rise is very slight.

<sup>11</sup>These must be clearly distinguished from our own category of "others" which embraces all those who do not belong to any of the denominations mentioned, and whose religious profession cannot be ascertained.

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Protestantism is not more definitely defined by a competent authority because *de facto* there is none such, and as long as the idea is not adequately expressed by our common usage of the term the statistician must draw the lines of demarcation as wide as possible, since to make the boundary line closer would seem arbitrary on his part.

Having made these introductory remarks we begin our first step with the religious statistics of Asia. Disregarding Christianity, which has indeed quite a numerous following in every part of Asia, yet constitutes in all only a small fraction of the population, we have to make a distinction between four great religious systems into which the principal masses of the Asiatics are divided: Mohammedanism, Brahminism (or rather Hindooism), Buddhism, Ancestor Worshipers and Confucianism. The last of these four groups consists of two elements with nothing in common, but at present unable to be separated from each other because positive statistical basis is still wanting, to allow of this separation. Confucianism is properly confined to China and its neighboring countries, Japan and Farther India. It is only since Chinese laborers began to migrate to the various European colonies and the republics of America, that this religion has spread over other countries. Brahminism or Hindooism, which was, until the last decades, solely confined to Farther India, has in like manner spread by means of the so-called "coolies" not only to other parts of Asia, but even to America, Africa, Australia and Oceanica. Even at an early date Indian merchants were known to have carried on an extensive business in Zanzibar, Mauritius and other islands along the coast of Africa. Buddhism, in contrast to Brahminism

and Confucianism has for many centuries back made itself felt in parts far distant from one another, and has still many adherents in all Eastern Asia, in China, Japan, Korea, Farther India, the East Indian islands, as well as in its own native India and Ceylon. The same can be said of Mohammedanism. The census reports of India show that there are more Mussulmans under British control than under the rule of the Sultan and his vassal countries combined. In China and Asiatic Russia, too, the followers of Mohammed are numbered by the millions. Finally in Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia and Oman Mohammedanism is the exclusive religion. Actual census reports on religion, as they are known in Europe, have been taken only in British-India (1901), Asiatic Russia (1897) and Asia Minor (1896). The 294 millions of British India (Hither India excluding Ceylon, but with Burma included) are distributed according to the following creeds:

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| Hindooism (Brahmins) .....               | 207,146,422 |
| Buddhists .....                          | 9,476,750   |
| Old Indian Religions <sup>12</sup> ..... | 12,207,955  |
| Mohammedans .....                        | 62,458,061  |
| Catholics <sup>13</sup> .....            | 1,524,625   |
| Protestants (all denominations).....     | 1,041,606   |
| Oriental Schismatics <sup>14</sup> ..... | 250,462     |
| Jews .....                               | 18,288      |
| Unclassified .....                       | 106,654     |

As far as other English colonies and Protectorates are concerned, only one official census has been made, that

<sup>12</sup>Of whom there are 1,195,268 Sikhs, 1,334,148 Jains, 8,584,349 Aminists, and 94,190 Parsees.

<sup>13</sup>Of these 1,202,039 belong to the Latin rite, and 322,586 Syro-Malabar rite.

<sup>14</sup>248,741 mainly so-called Christians of St. Thomas. Moreover, 1,058 Armenians, 9 Abyssinians and 656 Schismatic Greeks.

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at Cyprus (1901), which accounts for 182,739 Schismatic Greeks, 51,309 Mohammedans and 2,974 Others Unclassified. In this census the great number of Maronites, who, within the past few years, have immigrated to Cyprus and who, according to Baumgarten, number 35,000, were, it seems, added to the number of Schismatic Greeks. We will disregard these when we make up the total number of Catholics in Asia. The Catholics of Ceylon numbered 326,389; Protestants were estimated at 31,953, there were also about 2,000,000 Buddhists, 800,000 Hindoos and 250,000 Mohammedans. For the remaining English possessions (Straits Settlements, the Malay Protectorates, Hongkong, North Borneo, Aden etc.) only an approximate estimate, which can have no claim to accuracy, is possible; they amount in round numbers, to 3,000,000 inhabitants, of whom about 30,000 are Catholics and 10,000 Protestants. The number of Mohammedans can be estimated at about 1,200,000, of Buddhists and followers of Confucius at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The rest are Hindoos and other pagans. The Himalayan countries, Nepal and Bhutan, which border on India, have a population of about 3,000,000, who are partly numbered among the Buddhists, partly among the Brahmins.

In Asiatic Russia a census of religions was made at the same time with that of European Russia in 1897. The table below exhibits the results obtained:

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Greek Orthodox .....                     | 10,228,110 |
| Orthodox Sects (Raskolnics).....         | 436,907    |
| Oriental Schismatics <sup>18</sup> ..... | 1,156,589  |
| Catholics .....                          | 91,232     |
| Protestants .....                        | 66,087     |
| Mohammedans .....                        | 10,325,583 |
| Jews .....                               | 105,677    |
| Other Denominations .....                | 325,184    |

<sup>18</sup> Principally Armenians.

The population of the Russian independent vassal States, Korea and Bokara, is estimated at 2,300,000. Mohammedanism prevails there. There are, moreover, not a few pagans in this section of Asia.

The census made by the Turkish government in 1896 embraced only Asia Minor, and the data which were published give, we are sorry to say, only a very brief account of the population. The following are the results obtained:<sup>16</sup> 6,427,220 Mohammedans, 962,700 Armenians and 971,983 Other Christians. The total number of inhabitants of Asiatic Turkey and the tributary principality Samos, is about 13,000,000 Mohammedans, 1,240,000 Armenians, who belong to the Latin rite, 1,600,000 Greek Orthodox, 600,000 Catholics of all rites, and 500,000 or 600,000 Jews. There are no authentic statistics for the number of Oriental Schismatics and Protestants. The Protestants of all Hither Asia, according to Warneck (a. a. O. S. 159), can be rated at 80,000.

The population of the independent States of Hither Asia (Persia, Afghanistan, Oman, and Independent Arabia) is almost exclusively Mohammedan, and numbers about 16,000,000. The Catholics of these parts can be estimated close to 25,000, Oriental Schismatics<sup>17</sup> at 75,000, and Jews at 4,000.

Of the once widespread Portuguese possessions only a small part is still under the dominion of Portugal (Goa and its dependencies, Eastern Timor, and Macao); the whole population of which amounts to 850,917, about 350,000 being Catholics, the rest Buddhists, followers of Confucius and Mohammedans.

<sup>16</sup>Statistische Korrespondenz, Jahrg., 1898, Nr xvi.

<sup>17</sup>Nestorians and Armenians.

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Holland, on the contrary, in spite of the loss of her Hither Indian colonies, now in the possession of England, has, nevertheless, endeavored to maintain a very rich and populous colonial possession in Asia, the population of which in 1898 numbered in all 34,959,512. The Protestant missions claim 356,112 of the natives. The whole number of Protestants including Protestant European settlers may therefore be estimated at about 400,000, Catholics, according to the latest accounts at 50,294. The majority of the population have become Mohammedans, and may be estimated at about 30,000,000. With the addition of the immigrant Chinese Buddhism may be said to have a following of about one-half million. In a great part of Sumatra, in the interior of Borneo, in Celebes, and a number of smaller islands, the primitive pagan religion still exists.

Finally of the European possessions,<sup>18</sup> the French colonies and the Protectorates (Pondicherry and its dependencies, Cambodia, Cochin China, Annam and Tonquin) are still to be considered. Of the 15,923,185 inhabitants, 1,056,165 were Catholics.<sup>19</sup> The rest are followers of Ancestor Worship, of Confucianism and Buddhism. It is impossible to give, according to the individual sections of countries, a separate statistical account of each of these three great forms of religion in Eastern Asia. It will suffice, therefore, to give in a comprehensive form below an approximate estimate of all the countries now

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<sup>18</sup>The Chinese population of Kweichau, and of the German tenure lands has been included in the figures for China, while the comparatively small number of Europeans have been neglected.

<sup>19</sup>Of these 215,303 are in Pondicherry and 840,862 in Farther India.



in question according to the tables of Fournier de Flaix and Sir Monier Williams.

The three religions just mentioned are predominant also in the Spanish, situated between the French and English possessions. There the Catholic missions number (including Laos) 31,634, the Protestant, about 5,000 Christians.

The only part of Asia in which the Catholic religion can be said to be predominant is in the late Spanish Philippine Islands, which have passed into the possession of the United States. Of a population of 7,000,000, 6,559,998 are Catholics, the rest Mohammedans and pagans. Within the past few years the Protestant mission societies have also gained a considerable number of followers in these islands of whom there is as yet no definite account.

The great Empire of Japan has indeed furnished within the past few years several extensive statistical accounts which can vie for technical accuracy with those of Europe, but has unfortunately disregarded the religious tenets of its inhabitants. Only temples and priests were taken account of. Upon the basis of these statistics the number of adherents to Shintoism can be now fixed at 17,000,000, that of Buddhism and Confucianism at 29,000,000. The latest statistics put the number of Catholics in Japan at 56,321, Greek Orthodox at 23,300 and Protestants at 85,715.

The nine or ten millions of neighboring Korea are almost exclusively followers of Buddha and Confucius. There are 46,860 Catholics. The success of the Protestant mission, as mentioned by Grundemann, is not supported by figures. He has included the Protestants of

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Korea in his total number for China. Professor de Yuraschek estimates the Protestants of Korea at 15,000.

One more great Asiatic power: China and its neighboring countries, still remains to be considered. The population of this gigantic Empire, as was said above, has been until recent times greatly overrated. China proper, according to a critical investigation of the Chinese census published in the supplement to Petermann's *Relations*, edited by Supan,<sup>20</sup> numbers 320,500,000. The population of China and its neighboring countries is estimated at 330,000,000. Of these about five-eighths are adherents of Confucianism and of Ancestor Worship, one-fourth are Buddhists proper and one-tenth Taoists. The absolute figures of the estimates attempted by Fournier must, according to more recent statistics, be modified. The number of Mohammedans is rated at 20,000,000. There are in all about 1,000,000 Christians in China, of whom 762,758 are Catholics, 205,747 Protestants.<sup>21</sup>

Now, if we combine the figures of the individual sections of countries we shall obtain a comprehensive view of the religious conditions in Asia as exhibited in the table above.

The most striking of all these figures is the great number of Mohammedans in Asia. Having based his calculations upon the investigations of Dabry de Thiersants, Fournier de Flaix estimated the number of Mohammedans at 109,500,000, but adds that Sir Monier Williams fixes their number at 55,000,000, while he himself rates them at 50,000,000. In fact the last census of India showed that there were 62,500,000 of Mohammedans in

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<sup>20</sup>XI 44 ff.

<sup>21</sup>Including Korea.

|   | Catholics. | Greek Orthodox. | Orthodox Secs (Raskelitics) | Oriental Schismatics. | Protestants. | Jews.   | Mohammedans. | Brahmins (Hindoos.) | Old Indian Religions. | Buddhists.  | Followers of Confucius and Ancestor Worshipers. | Taoists.   | Shintoists. | Other Pagans. | Others and no Estimates. |
|---|------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------|---|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| Independent Countries of Hither Asia and the Himalayan. | 25,000     |                 |                             | 75,000                | 80,000       | 40,000  | 15,000,000   | 2,000,000           |                       | 1,000,000   |   |            |             |               |                          |
| Turkish Possessions.                                    | 600,000    | 1,600,000       |                             | 1,240,000             |              | 600,000 | 13,000,000   |                     |                       |             |   |            |             |               |                          |
| Russian Possessions and Vassal States.                  | 91,232     | 10,228,110      | 436,907                     | 1,156,589             | 66,087       | 105,677 | 12,000,000   |                     |                       |             |   |            |             | 500,000       | 335,184                  |
| English Possessions.                                    | 1,883,014  | 182,739         |                             | 254,464               | 1,083,559    | 18,228  | 64,000,000   | 208,000,000         | 12,113,756            | 19,000,000  |   |            |             |               | 106,654                  |
| Portuguese  | 330,000    |                 |                             |                       |              |         |              |                     |                       | 500,000     |   |            |             |               |                          |
| French  | 1,056,165  |                 |                             |                       |              |         |              |                     |                       |             |   |            |             |               |                          |
| Siam (Laos incl.)                                       | 31,634     |                 |                             |                       | 5,800        |         |              |                     |                       |             |   |            |             |               |                          |
| China and Neighboring Countries.                        | 762,758    |                 |                             |                       | 205,747      |         | 20,000,000   |                     |                       | 105,000,000 | 235,000,000                                     | 32,000,000 |             |               |                          |
| Korea.  | 46,860     |                 |                             |                       |              |         |              |                     |                       |             |   |            | 17,000,000  |               |                          |
| Japan.  | 56,321     | 23,300          |                             |                       | 85,715       |         |              |                     |                       |             |   |            |             | 4,000,000     |                          |
| Dutch Possessions.                                      | 50,204     |                 |                             |                       | 400,000      |         | 30,000,000   |                     |                       | 500,000     |   |            |             |               |                          |
| Philippines.  | 6,559,998  |                 |                             |                       |              |         |              |                     |                       |             |   |            |             | 500,000       |                          |
| All Asia.   | 11,513,276 | 12,034,149      | 436,907                     | 2,756,053             | 1,026,168    | 763,908 | 154,000,000  | 210,000,000         | 12,113,756            | 120,000,000 | 235,000,000                                     | 32,000,000 | 17,000,000  | 5,000,000     | 431,538                  |

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that country. In other parts of Asia their number also appears, according to the latest researches, to be much larger than was hitherto believed. Further investigations may, perhaps, change our results a million or so, but the fact can no longer be denied that Islamism numbers about one-fifth of the population of Asia, consequently 150,000,000. About one-fourth of all the population is devoted to Ancestor Worship, to the teachings of Confucius and Hindooism respectively, while Buddhism proper ranks fourth with her 150,000,000. In Asia the Christians number in all nearly 30,000,000, of whom in round numbers, 12,000,000 are Catholics and Greek Orthodox, 3,000,000 and 2,000,000 of Oriental Schismatics and Protestants respectively, 500,000 Russian Heretics.

There are even more statistics of Africa than of Asia. Official statistics of religious denominations respecting the former have been made only of Egypt in 1897, of Cape Colony and several other English colonies in 1891, and in 1890 of what was then known as the Independent Orange Free State.

In 1897 Egypt had a population of 8,978,775 Moham-medans, 608,446 Copts, 56,343 Catholics, 53,479 Greek Orthodox, 11,894 Protestants, 25,200 Jews and 268 Others unclassified. It seems that in this census only the Latin Catholics were by mistake added to the Catholic Church, since according to the account of the Propaganda there are in Egypt 56,180 Catholics of the Latin rite and 21,400 of the Oriental rite (mainly Copts). The latter were perhaps counted as Schismatic Copts. Now, to be consistent with our general principle mentioned above, we will not, despite these considerations, include them in our accounts when we go to make up the total number of Catholics.

The census of Cape Colony, Sierra Leone, Mauritius and the late Orange River Colony show the following results:

|                                    | Protestants. | Catholics. | Mohammedans. | Jews. | Pagans. |
|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|-------|---------|
| Cape Colony and Dependencies ..... | 732,047      | 17,275     | 15,099       | 3,009 | 753,824 |
| Sierra Leone .....                 | 40,790       | 571 (1)    | 7,396        | ..... | 26,078  |
| Mauritius .....                    | 7,307        | 115,438    | 34,763       | ..... | 209,079 |
| Orange River .....                 | 71,358       | 466 (2)    | .....        | 113   | 135,556 |

For the Christians of only Catholic and Protestant denominations who dwell in the remaining territory of Africa, we shall try to arrange a more definite plan as a basis of the above named sources. We will give, in this arrangement, among Protestant works as far as they do not agree, the preference to the figures of Grundenmann, since his results seem to have been the outcome of great care and exactness, while those of Warneck appear from his undeniable preference for large round numbers, to be less trustworthy. Both authors note, conformably to the purport of their labors (mission statistics) only the number of those whom they have won over from paganism to their own confession. The numbers, therefore, in the case of the Transvaal and of Natal, which have quite a large percentage of Protestants of European extraction must, according to their own accounts, be considerably increased by adding to them the

(1) According to the *Missiones Catholicae* 2,800 Catholics.

(2) According to the *Missiones Catholicae* 6,100 Catholics.

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enormous number of Protestants of European descent. We need not go to the trouble in the case of Cape Colony, the Orange River Colony and Mauritius, as the official census of these parts do not make a distinction between Christians of European and African origin. In the rest of the Protestant mission districts the number of European settlers is so insignificant that they can be of no consequence to the total result.

On our march through the African mission districts we shall follow, as we did in Asia, the political divisions of the country, and devote our attention to the various European colonies and Protectorates, because they are naturally the main field of missionary activity.

The youngest colonial powers, Italy and Germany, show, as is to be expected, the smallest number of pagan converts. The Italian colonies, Eritrea and Somali Land number in all 14,900 Catholics. Protestant missions do not seem to exist there. The German colonies and Protectorates show the following numbers :

|                   | Protestants   | Catholics     |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Kamerun.....      | 4,424         | 3,385         |
| Togo.....         | 2,572         | 2,000         |
| S. W. Africa..... | 12,778        | 200           |
| E. Africa.....    | 14,000        | 17,525        |
| <b>Total.....</b> | <b>33,774</b> | <b>23,110</b> |

In the English colonies, which have been for centuries under the government of Christian nations, and which, on account of their favorable climatic conditions, have attracted numerous European settlers, the number of Christians, especially those of the Protestant religion, which is the strongest in the mother country of the settlers is quite large. The adherents of both Christian de-

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nominations in each of the colonies are distributed as follows:

|  | Protestants | Catholics |
|--|-------------|-----------|
| Cape Colony and Dependencies.....                          | 732,047     | 17,275    |
| Natal and Zulu Ld.....                                     | 106,000     | 12,000    |
| Orange River Colony.....                                   | 71,358      | 466       |
| Transvaal.....   | 330,000     | 6,200     |
| Mauritius.....   | 7,307       | 115,438   |
| Seychelles and Dependencies.....                           | 670         | 17,370    |
| Basuto Ld., Bechuana Ld., Rhodesia and Central Africa..... | 32,580      | 13,120    |
| British East Africa, Uganda and Zanzibar.....              | 38,700      | 68,787    |
| Sierra Leone.....  | 40,790      | 571       |
| Gold Coast.....  | 50,703      | 5,650     |
| Lagos, Niger and Other Concessions.....                    | 33,000      | 18,000    |
| Total.....   | 1,443,155   | 274,877   |

After England, France possesses the largest and most populous colonies in Africa. All save a few islands in the Indian Ocean have come into the possession of France since only the second half of the last century, and consequently have not been as long under the beneficent influence of Christian civilization as Cape Colony and the late Boer Republic. Yet the number of Christians is quite considerable as the subsequent table will show:

|   | Catholics | Protestants |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| Algeria and Tunis.....                  | 550,000   | 11,000      |
| Madagascar.....                         | 117,150   | 129,281     |
| Réunion, Mayotte, Nossi Bé.....         | 180,000   |             |
| Senegal, Senegambia and French Guinea.. | 16,100    | 4,800       |
| Dahomey and Ivory Coast.....            | 5,580     |             |
| French Kongo, Gubrin, Ubangi.....       | 17,198    | 2,000       |
| Total.....                              | 886,028   | 147,081     |

(1) In Grundemann's account the figures for German and British East Africa are not given separately. We take them therefore from the work of Warneck.

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Spain possesses in Africa, as the remnant of her once glorious colonial enterprise, Céuta and the so-called Presidios along the coast of Morocco, the Canary Islands, several small islands in the Gulf of Guinea and a fringe of coast along the Rio Muni and the Rio d'Oro. Considering that the population of the Presidios and the Canary Islands is almost all Catholic and that there are also a series of mission stations in the rest of the possessions, the number of Catholics in the Spanish African colonies ought to be estimated at least at 370,000.

Far greater and more important are the Portuguese colonies: the Cape Verd Islands, Madeira, Portuguese Guinea, St. Thomas, and Principe, Angola and Mozambique, or as it is now known "the Estado d'Africa Oriental" (the Oriental State of Africa). They number in all at least 8,000,000. We have included the Azores in European Portugal on account of their geographical position. Madeira and the Cape Verd Islands with a population of nearly 300,000 are almost exclusively Catholic. The Catholics of East Africa mount up to 6,200. Those of Angola are fixed at 1,000,000. We are very much inclined to doubt these statements. At any rate there can be question in such a large part of the population only of an external conformity since the small number of those actually engaged in the care of souls holds no pro-

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<sup>22</sup>Grundemann gives no figures at all for the territory along the coast of Northern Africa. Warneck supposes that the population of North Africa is 23,000. Now, since Egypt, according to the census of 1897, claims 12,000, the rest of the territory, most of whose inhabitants dwell in Algiers and Tunis, will be 11,000.

<sup>23</sup>The figures which ought to be here are included in the result of the English colony of Lagos.



portion to the masses of the faithful. It is, however, just the external conformity to a religion which religious statistics are to determine, and what Grundemann (a. a. O. S. 121) says of the numerous colored Protestants of Cape Colony is also pertinent here: "They must be considered as the fruits of the mission, no matter if a part of them should widely differ from the object for which the mission was established." With this proviso we will allow the total number of Catholics in the Portuguese dominions to stand at 1,350,000. According to Grundemann there are about 250 Protestants in Portuguese East Africa. The numbers for Angola are not given separately, but are combined with those of the Kongo State; their total number amounts to 11,354. Since Warneck holds the number of Protestants in the Kongo State to be 6,000 or 7,000, that of Angola is presumably 4,000 or 5,000. The number of Catholics in the Kongo State is fixed at 13,295, Protestants, about 7,000. There are 15,050 Protestants in Liberia.<sup>24</sup> In the rest of the independent States the number of Catholics and Protestants is very insignificant. There are no statistics at all of the Protestant missions in the countries just mentioned, save in Abyssinia, which has a Protestant population of 387. The Catholics there were 4,000, in Morocco 6,260, and in Turkish Tripoli 5,750. In Abyssinia the great masses of the population are Schismatic Monophysites, whose numbers run up indeed to 3,000,000.

For a comprehensive view of the results obtained we shall arrange them in a prospective table below:

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<sup>24</sup>The number of Catholics in this section could not be ascertained.

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|                          | Catholics | Protestants |
|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| English Possessions..... | 274,877   | 1,443,155   |
| French ".....            | 886,028   | 147,081     |
| German ".....            | 23,110    | 33,774      |
| Portuguese ".....        | 1,350,000 | 5,000       |
| Spanish ".....           | 370,000   | -----       |
| Italian ".....           | 14,900    | -----       |
| Tripoli.....             | 5,750     | -----       |
| Egypt.....               | 56,343    | 11,894      |
| Abyssinia.....           | 4,000     | 387         |
| Morocco.....             | 6,260     | -----       |
| Siberia.....             | -----     | 15,050      |
| Kongo State.....         | 13,295    | 7,000       |
| Total.....               | 3,004,563 | 1,663,341   |

If we add to the number of Catholics the 3,000,000 Monophysites of Abyssinia, the 608,466 Copts, and the 53,479 Greek Orthodox of Egypt our total of Christians in Africa will be 8,329,849.

As far as our result of the total number of Catholics is concerned it seems that they do not agree with the 3,205,250 of Baumgarten's calculations.

The difference is in fact only an apparent one, for the reason that Baumgarten has added the number of Catholics of the Azores to his account of the number in Africa, while we counted them among the Catholics of Portugal. If this difference, amounting to about 250,000, is taken into account, and deducted from Baumgarten's total, the result, as was the case in Asia, will perfectly agree with his. But the single columns cannot harmonize, seeing that he based his statistics upon the ecclesiastical divisions of dioceses, apostolic vicariates and prefectures, while we took, as our fundamental principle, the political divisions of the country, which do not at all correspond with the ecclesiastical.

Africa affords us only such possible estimates of non-Christian religions. Now these estimates may, after a careful calculation of the population, and of their divisions into separate tribes, be founded upon a certain degree of probability; but they still demand important ethnographical investigation before they can be substantiated. The number of Jews rests upon a somewhat safe basis. In Algeria and Tunis there is about 100,000 of them, about 200,000 in Morocco and Abyssinia, about 25,000 in Egypt, about 15,000 in Tripoli, in the Transvaal 10,000, and 3,000 in Cape Colony. Their numbers in the whole of Africa mount up to 600,000 or 700,000. It is very difficult to determine the number of Mohammedans and pagans. In general it can be said that the Arabians, the Soudan blacks, and the Berberians are principally Mohammedans; the Bantam blacks are mainly Fetich Worshipers, but the race and religious differences do not in particular cases perfectly correspond. Another difficulty confronts us in fixing the population of Africa. **Accounts oscillate between 150 and 200,000,000.** We are of Professor V. Yuraschke's opinion that the presumption of their being 180,000,000 is near the truth. Hence we must estimate the number of Mohammedans at 40,000,000, the Fetich Worshipers and other pagans at 132,000,000.

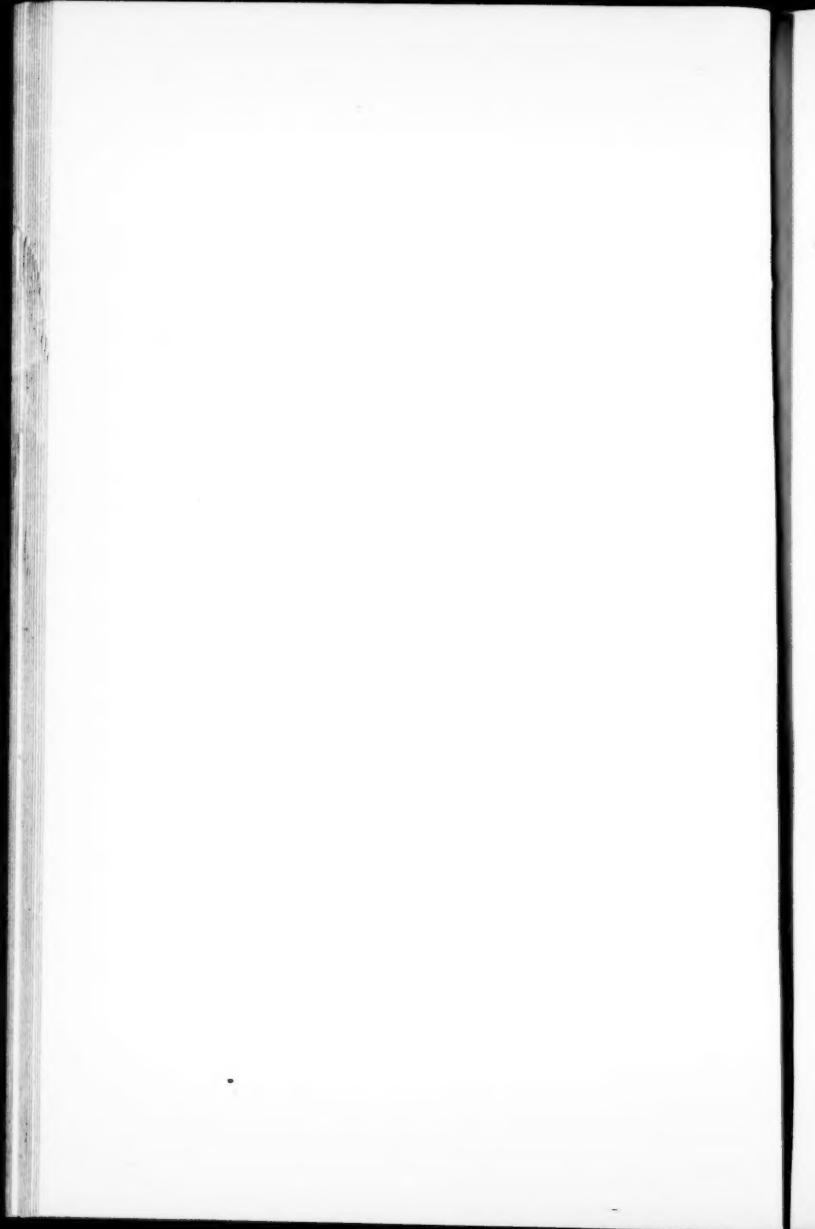
The Christians of Africa and Asia, therefore, constitute only a small fraction of the entire population. The case is far different in the other three parts of the world. This we shall treat later.

*(To be continued.)*

H. A. KROSE, S. J.

*Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, July-August, 1903.

Translated by Joseph J. Kohbrieser, S. I.



## **The Diffusion of the Various Religious Denominations at the Close of the Nineteenth Century.**



### **II.**

Before we treat of that part of the globe in which Christianity has advanced to a higher plane of culture and refinement and consequently is better adapted for the investigation of social life, we deem it necessary that no misunderstanding may arise to make a few preliminary remarks.

There is quite a common opinion abroad that official census on religion are made in all countries as with us in Germany. This, however, is not so. There is a prejudice, unintelligible to us, among some highly cultivated nations, against those governments which demand in their official census an account of religious denominations. We Germans consider it quite proper that the government should determine the religious belief as well as the sex, age, family home and avocation of its subjects, since it, like them, is undoubtedly an important factor of society. The English are of another opinion. In Great Britain at least, they neglect on principle the question of religion in their census formula. In Ireland, however, and in most of the colonies another custom obtains. This prejudice against official census reports on religion next spread from England to Belgium, while only within the past few years it has also influenced France and Italy. In the last census on religion, made by the French Government, more than seven million Frenchmen refused to

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answer it. It would have been absurd to consider these seven millions as disbelieving and ungodly. The refusal to answer the inquiry as to one's religious belief was nothing more than a protest against the interference of the State in things in which those questioned considered wholly a matter of conscience. There is no reason, therefore, why we on this account should reject the common opinion that the great majority of Frenchmen belong to the Catholic Church. There is no lack of indication to show that this adhesion of a great part of the nation is very close and external. We need only recall to mind the fierce opposition which those in power have raised in France against the Church and her regulations during the last two decades. But the external adhesion to the Catholic Church has, notwithstanding, remained. The number of those who do not belong by baptism to the Catholic Church or who by a formal step have left her, is still very small in France, in proportion to the entire population of the country. By far the great majority of Frenchmen, even those who are out-spoken enemies of the Church still have their children baptized Catholics, are married in the Catholic Church and have the priest accompany the remains of their dear ones to the grave. This external conformity is enough, as we have said in the first part of our article to admit them into a statistical account. One's interior conviction, however, I mean his living faith, is not that with which statistics have to do. Very similar to France are the religious conditions of Protestant Germany and other Protestant countries. How many millions less would be the official accounts of the number of Protestants were we to deduct from the figures of Protestants in Germany and the northern countries all those who take no active part in church affairs

and who are cold and indifferent toward the Protestant Church! These are facts which do not enter into statistical accounts. The statistician is only concerned with the religious denominations to which a person adheres by birth or education, no matter whether he has formally renounced the religion of his forebears to become a member of some other communion.

Therefore with regard to the accuracy of our established figures this must be said that a perfectly true and homogeneous picture of the distribution of the various religious beliefs cannot be obtained from the results based upon even official census reports. Census are not taken in all countries in the same year or month, and those nations who strive on principle to obtain the results of religious denominations do not all put the question of religious belief in every census, but only after greater intervals. Most of our data, however, is taken from the statistics of 1895-1900. Only in particular cases were we forced to consult the census reports of 1891. Thus the total result of the separate religious denominations at which we arrived, will, notwithstanding the unavailable dearth of some particulars, be, especially in the case of Europe, very near the truth. In fact it is a matter of no great consequence whether these figures are a few millions more or less than one would expect from the accounts of census reports and estimates at hand. The part, therefore, which individual religious denominations play in the whole population of the world and their numerical proportions therein with which we are principally interested, seems quite satisfactory.

Australia, the fifth and smallest division of the earth, offers the least difficulty for the statistical investigation of religion. Not only the whole continent but even the

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largest and most populous of the many islands that surround it belong to a single power, England. The possessions of the remaining groups of islands is divided among the other powers: Germany, France and the United States of America. A part, moreover, of New Guinea, which belongs to Australia is under the control of Holland. Yet we can neglect this part of New Guinea, since it has been taken into account in our estimate of the Dutch East India possessions. Only one group of islands, the New Hebrides, is still for the greater part outside European control.

Of the mainland of Australia and in Tasmania, which forms with the colonies of the mainland what is known as Australasia census reports of the various religious beliefs were taken both in 1891 and 1901. We are, therefore, very fortunate in possessing official accounts concerning the religious condition of the whole continent. We regret to note that only some of the data of the last census are at our disposal, and that, therefore, we must avail ourselves of the statistics of 1891 for most of the colonies of Australia; we have only the census reports for Queensland and Tasmania of 1901. The results of these reports are as follows:

|                               | Protestants. | Catholics. | Jews.  | Buddhists. | Others. |
|-------------------------------|--------------|------------|--------|------------|---------|
| <b>New South Wales</b>        |              |            |        |            |         |
| (1891).....                   | 768,985      | 286,911    | 5,484  | .....      | 62,574  |
| <b>Victoria (1891).....</b>   | 876,857      | 248,591    | 6,459  | 6,746      | 41,752  |
| <b>Queensland (1901)....</b>  | 351,112      | 120,663    | 733    | .....      | 30,758  |
| <b>South Australia (1891)</b> | 236,809      | 47,179     | 840    | .....      | .....   |
| <b>West Australia (1891)</b>  | 32,894       | 12,464     | .....  | .....      | 4,424   |
| <b>Tasmania (1901).....</b>   | 131,803      | 30,314     | 107    | .....      | 10,251  |
| <b>Total .....</b>            | 2,398,460    | 746,122    | 13,623 | 6,746      | 149,759 |



Of the remaining English colonies of the South Sea, only in New Zealand (1896) and the Fiji Islands (1900) a census on religion has been made, which showed 545,176 Protestants, 98,804 Catholics, 1,549 Jews and 19,358 Others Unclassified for New Zealand; while the Fiji Islands numbered 91,197 Protestants, 9,180 Catholics and 18,493 pagans.

England, moreover, possesses still other large groups of islands: The Tonga, Solomon, Gilbert, Cook, and Ellise Islands, and a great part of New Guinea. Since no census has been taken in those islands we are referred to the following accounts of missionaries:

|                              | Protes-<br>tants. | Catholics.    |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Tonga Islands and Mine.....  | 19,618            | 1,800         |
| Soloman Islands.....         | 5,000             | 72            |
| Gilbert Islands.....         | (1)               | 11,000        |
| Cook and Ellice Islands..... | 7,473             | ?             |
| British New Guinea.....      | 6,492             | 4,000         |
| <b>Total.....</b>            | <b>38,583</b>     | <b>16,872</b> |

For the French and German colonies the accounts also of missionaries are the only sources of information concerning the religious conditions in those groups of islands. The large island of New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, a part of the New Hebrides, the Marquesas Islands, Tahiti and the rest of the Society Islands, together with the Austral and Paumotu groups, and finally Wallis and Futuna of the Middle Oceanica groups belong to France. The number of Christians of both the Protestant and Catholic religions in the French possessions is quite marked as is evident from the subsequent table:

(1) The Protestants of the Gilbert Islands are included in the figures given below for the Mariana and Caroline Islands.

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|   | Protestants.  | Catholics.    |
|---|---------------|---------------|
| New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands and New Hebrides ..... | 19,190        | 36,300        |
| Marquesas Islands.....                                | 800           | 3,150         |
| Tahiti, Society, Austral and Paumotu Islands .....    | 14,000        | 7,225         |
| Wollis and Futuna.....                                | .....         | 7,650         |
| <b>Total.....</b>                                     | <b>33,990</b> | <b>54,325</b> |

The German possessions comprise a part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm's Land) Bismarck Archipelago, the Marshall Islands, the Mariana (except Guahan), the Caroline, the Pelew Islands, the Samoa or Navigator Islands, except those which have been ceded to the United States of America and to England, and several of the Solomon Islands. Since the accounts of missionaries give separate figures for the German and American parts of these groups of islands (Guahan, the principal island of the Mariana, and Tutuila of the Samoa group are American) we must, in our review combine the German and American possessions. The number of Christians in the Solomon Islands were included for the same reason among the possessions of England. The following are the results:

|   | Protestants.  | Catholics.    |
|---|---------------|---------------|
| Samoa Group (incl. Tutuila) and dependencies..... | 30,000 (1)    | 7,200         |
| Bismarck Archipelago (New Pomerania)...           | 7,962         | 8,449         |
| Caroline and Palau Islands.....                   | 18,115        | 1,400         |
| Mariana (incl. Guabrau).....                      | .....         | 10,826        |
| Kaiser Wilhelm's Land.....                        | 3             | 400           |
| <b>Total.....</b>                                 | <b>56,080</b> | <b>28,275</b> |

(1) Grundemann's (*Kleine Missions-Geographie und Statistik, Calm und Stuttgart 1901, 1902*) has 44,044 Protestants for Samoa

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Of the American possessions the Hawaii Islands still remain to be considered. The results of the census on religion which were made there, in 1896, are included in the following prospective table of all Australia and Oceanica:

|                                      | Protestants.             | Catholics.             | Jews.  | Buddhists. | Mormons. | Others. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|--------|------------|----------|---------|
| Australasia.....                     | 2,398,460 <sup>(1)</sup> | 746,122 <sup>(2)</sup> | 13,623 | 6,746      | .....    | 149,759 |
| New Zealand....                      | 545,176                  | 98,804                 | 1,549  | .....      | .....    | 19,358  |
| Remaining English Possessions        | 129,780                  | 26,052                 | .....  | .....      | .....    | 160,000 |
| French Possessions.....              | 33,990                   | 54,325                 | .....  | .....      | .....    | ?       |
| German and American Possessions..... | 56,080                   | 28,277                 | .....  | .....      | .....    | 360,000 |
| Hawaii.....                          | 23,773                   | 26,363                 | .....  | 44,306     | 4,886    | 10,192  |
| Total.....                           | 3,187,259                | 979,943                | 15,172 | 51,052     | 4,886    | 699,309 |

In estimating the above figures we must always bear in mind that they are taken for the most part from the census of 1891, and do not include that part of New Guinea which belongs to Holland, nor the independent New Hebrides. The population of Australia and Oceanica

and outer stations. But since this island, after deducting the number of the outer stations (Ellice and Tohelau Islands) has still only a population of 37,780, and since the Catholic mission there numbers, according to reliable accounts, more than 7,000 followers, there remains even supposing the whole island to be Christianized at most 30,000 for the Protestants. In this case, therefore, we had, contrary to our principle, to correct the statement of Grundemann.

(1) Only after the completion of our paper, did we become acquainted with the work of Coghlan, the Australian statistician. (The seven colonies of Austria, Sydney, 1902.) According to Coghlan the total population of the Australian colonies amounted to 2,757,983 Protestants, 855,800 Catholics, 15,229 Jews, 20,486 Mohammedans and 117,945 others unclassified.

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have since increased more than a million, so that including the parts just mentioned we can fix the population of this part of the world almost at 6,500,000. Hence the number of Protestants as well as of Catholics immediately appear considerably larger, but the proportion has remained the same. About three-fifths of the whole population are Protestants and one-fifth are Catholics. The rest are for the most part pagans, some of whom prefer no particular creed at all or if they did we could not ascertain it. The total number of Jews in all Australia is not yet 20,000. The reason why Baumgarten's<sup>1</sup> figures for the total number of Catholics (1,042,912) in Australia do not agree with our results is this, that he has taken as the basis of his calculations, more recent ecclesiastical records concerning the total number of souls in the diocese of Australia. They are, no doubt, more favorable than our own for the present purpose; but we should rather not depart from our first principle, viz.: to give, under all circumstances the preference to official statistics.

It is very difficult to give an accurate and positive account of the different religious beliefs in America. The number of independent countries and self-governing colonies is quite large, and only a few of them have taken an official government census on religion of their people. Since 1890 official census reports of religious creeds have been made<sup>2</sup> only in Brazil (1890), Barbadoes (1891), Costa Rica (1893), Venezuela (1894), Mexico (1895), Dutch Guinea (1896), Canada (1900), and Trinidad

<sup>1</sup>Das Wirken der katholischen Kirche auf dem Erdenrund, Munich, 1901, 358.

<sup>2</sup>Only in the United States of America and Jamaica has the number of actual members of parishes been fixed.

(1901). Quite a definite account can notwithstanding be obtained respecting the religious beliefs of the population of even those countries in South and Central America for which no official data are forthcoming. The number of Protestants in these countries is so insignificant, that they may be passed over without affecting the total result. But there are, however, official census reports on religion for those very parts (Guiana, Brazil, Mexico) in which Protestantism is more pronounced. The number, too, of savages, who are still pagan Indians, can be nearly ascertained, especially where they have been accounted for in the official census reports of individual countries. All the rest of the population of South and Central America must be considered Catholic, with the proviso that there be question here of only exterior conformity to a religion. Now since the number of the population is fixed in all these countries by common census, we need only to eliminate from this result the sum of the Protestants and Pagans, that we may get at the number of Catholics. We must, however, grant that a result which is obtained in this way may be a hundred thousand or so above or below the exact number; but an overestimate, perchance in favor of the Catholics, will be readily balanced by the fact that the census reports represent the population as it was at a somewhat distant date and make no account of the constant increase of the population during the intervening years. We will now give a prospective view of the various religious denominations in the several countries of South America, and designate with the letter Z and the year of the census, these peoples who have taken account of the various religious beliefs. The other figures are the results of a calculation which was founded on the basis mentioned above.

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|                                    | Catholics. | Protestants. | Pagans.   | Others. |
|------------------------------------|------------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| Argentine Republic.....            | 4,700,000  | 60,000       | 30,000    | .....   |
| Bolivia.....                       | 2,000,000  | .....        | 250,000   | .....   |
| Brazil ( <i>s</i> 1890).....       | 14,179,615 | 143,743      | 600,000   | 10,557  |
| Chili.....                         | 2,950,000  | 20,000       | 50,000    | .....   |
| Colombia.....                      | 3,800,000  | .....        | 150,000   | .....   |
| Ecuador.....                       | 1,200,000  | .....        | 200,000   | .....   |
| British Guiana.....                | 21,700     | 76,911       | 180,000   | .....   |
| French Guiana.....                 | 29,000     | .....        | .....     | 2,000   |
| Dutch Guiana ( <i>s</i> 1896)..... | 11,703     | 34,395       | 9,698     | 3,931   |
| Paraguay.....                      | 530,000    | .....        | 100,000   | .....   |
| Peru.....                          | 4,200,000  | 10,000       | 350,000   | .....   |
| Uruguay.....                       | 900,000    | 25,000       | .....     | .....   |
| Venezuela ( <i>s</i> 1894).....    | 2,434,984  | 3,515        | .....     | 6,317   |
| South America.. .....              | 36,957,002 | 373,564      | 1,919,698 | 22,805  |

Therefore according to this table there are about 37,000,000 Catholics in South America. The number of Protestants about 400,000. A safe basis for these estimates in Brazil, Venezuela, and Dutch Guiana is founded on the official census reports on religion, and in British Guiana on the accounts of missionaries. In the remaining countries the number and the nationality of the immigrants are a guide to a fair estimate. This much can be gleaned from official and non-official statistics at hand, that the total number of Protestants in South America is at most one-half million. The number of pagans amounts<sup>3</sup> to nearly 2,000,000, of whom about 1,700,000 are savage Indians, the rest East Indian and Chinese coolies and pagan blacks.

The following table exhibits the population of Mexico and the other republics of Central America, including British Honduras:

<sup>3</sup> There are about 10,000-12,000 Jews in South America.

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|                                   | Catholics. | Protes-<br>tants. | Jews. | Pagans. | Others. |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------------|-------|---------|---------|
| Costa Rica ( $\approx$ 1892)..... | 240,701    | 2,245             | 35    | 224     | .....   |
| Guatemala.....                    | 1,560,000  | 5,000             | ..... | .....   | .....   |
| Honduras.....                     | 580,000    | .....             | ..... | .....   | .....   |
| British Honduras.....             | 30,000     | 5,800             | ..... | .....   | .....   |
| Nicaragua.....                    | 450,000    | 5,000             | ..... | 40,000  | .....   |
| Mexico ( $\approx$ 1895).....     | 12,380,245 | 40,445            | 57    | .....   | 71,707  |
| San Salvador.....                 | 910,000    | .....             | ..... | .....   | .....   |
| Middle America....                | 16,150,946 | 58,490            | 92    | 40,224  | 71,707  |

Catholicism, therefore, is by far more predominant in Middle America than in South America. For 16,000,000 Catholics stand in contrast to 200,000 non-Catholics. The Protestants especially are a very small minority with scarcely 60,000 followers.

The state of the case is quite different in the neighboring West Indies. A large number of the islands have been for centuries under English rule and were therefore first accessible to English missionaries. Even in this part of America Catholicism is in a majority. The religious denominations are distributed according to the following table:

|  | Catholics. | Protes-<br>tants. | Paga ns<br>and<br>Others. |
|--|------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| Cuba.....  | 1,550,000  | 10,000            | 15,000                    |
| San Domingo.....                                       | 600,000    | .....             | .....                     |
| Hayti.....   | 1,200,000  | .....             | .....                     |
| Porto Rico.....  | 950,000    | .....             | .....                     |
| Danish Islands (1).....                                | 10,000     | 30,000            | .....                     |
| English Islands:                                       |            |                   |                           |
| (a) Bahama and Bermuda Islands.                        | ?          | 47,292            | .....                     |
| (b) Barbadoes ( $\approx$ 1891).....                   | 816        | 177,825           | .....                     |
| (c) Jamaica, incl. Caicos and<br>Turk's Island.....    | 13,000     | 395,000           | 330,000                   |
| (d) Leeward Islands.....                               | 29,000     | 80,000            | .....                     |
| (e) Trinidad and Tobago ( $\approx$ 1901).             | 89,178     | 104,320           | 70,000                    |
| (f) Windward Islands.....                              | 91,162     | 60,000            | .....                     |
| French Islands (incl. St. Pierre and<br>Miquelon)..... | 390,000    | .....             | 15,000                    |
| Dutch Islands ( $\approx$ 1896).....                   | 41,325     | 7,730             | .....                     |
| West Indies.....                                       | 4,964,481  | 912,167           | 430,000                   |

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The northern part of America still remains to be considered. It is divided among two powers, England and the United States. The English possessions consist of the Dominion of Canada and New Foundland, including Labrador.<sup>4</sup> The numbers of the various religious denominations were determined in both of these colonies by official census returns, in Canada in 1901, in New Foundland in 1891. The Canadian returns were as follows:

|                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| Catholics .....              | 2,228,997 |
| Methodists .....             | 916,862   |
| Presbyterians .....          | 842,301   |
| Anglicans .....              | 680,346   |
| Baptists .....               | 292,485   |
| Other denominations.....     | 351,408   |
| Pagans and Unclassified..... | 58,652    |

We include those of other denominations among the number of Protestants. For even if among these there are doubtless a considerable number of non-Protestants, yet the majority of them belong to the Protestant denomination. This is the disadvantage of the convenient heading called "Unclassified" which is found in so many official statistical publications, and is a stumbling block to all accurate statistical researches. Including this group the result will be 3,083,402 Protestants.

In New Foundland and Labrador the returns were 72,696 Catholics and 129,344 Protestants of various denominations, of whom Anglicans and Methodists were by far the majority.

The greatest difficulty confronts us in determining the figures for the religious denominations in the United

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<sup>4</sup> Including Greenland, which belongs politically to Denmark.



States. The census, however, of 1890 also included religion, but did not give the number of adherents of particular beliefs, but only that of actual members. Of such members 20,612,806 in all were counted. The Union that time had a population of 63,069,760. Considering that the pagans, who then numbered at least 3,000,000, were manifestly not at all accounted for in the census on religion, there will be an average of three adherents of a religion to every pagan. For the Catholics with their 6 257.871 members the result would be 18 773.6 3 religious adherents. Ecclesiastical statistics, however, showed at this time a membership of only 9 million Catholics. Now, even if these ecclesiastical accounts are unquestionably rated too low, by reason of the fact that they who have the spiritual care of souls and whose reports make up the diocesan table are, on account of the constant rise and fall in numbers of their parishioners, not acquainted with a great part of them, yet the product which we obtained from the average above must be considered rather too high. We must not fail to mark, when we begin to consider the official figures of members of religious beliefs, that the age which determines active membership is not fixed in the same manner by all denominations. Catholics, as a rule, fix the age of active membership sooner than most Protestant denominations. The official census, however, justifies the assumption that the Catholic Church in the United States counted in 1890 at least 10 to 11 million followers, who, considering the natural increase and the large Catholic immigration to this country within the last ten years, can be said to have multiplied to 13 to 14 millions. But at all events to avoid the danger of overestimating the number of one's own religious profession, we shall take cogni-

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zance only of the minimum figures of ecclesiastical statistics, which amount, according to the Catholic Directory for 1901<sup>5</sup> to 10,976,757 souls. No safe basis can be found upon which the number of Protestants may be calculated. We shall, therefore, add the whole population, except Catholics, Jews, pagans and the other non-Christians, to the Protestants. The number of Jews in the United States is now estimated<sup>6</sup> to be about 1,000,000. The census of 1890 gave only 130,496 active members of the Jewish religion, a figure that at most will bring the total number of Jews to 400,000 to 500,000. But the immigration of Russian and Austrian Jews has since indeed been so enormous that these figures as they stand must be considered as probable only. The number of pagans must be estimated to be at least 5 millions. According to the accounts of Grundemann, which, as far as Protestants<sup>7</sup> are concerned, evince a careful study of all their sources, there are among the negroes of North America about 4 million Protestants.<sup>8</sup> Warneck<sup>9</sup> indeed

<sup>5</sup> Milwaukee, 1902. Catholic Directory, 1903: 11,289,710.

<sup>6</sup> *Dealenzyklopædie fuer protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 31 Leipzig, 1903, Heft. 123, 124, 185.

<sup>7</sup> The same cannot be said of the account of the author concerning Catholic missions (especially in the above mentioned *Realenzyklopædie*, Heft. 121-122). It is evident that he is neither sufficiently acquainted with the sources of statistics on Catholic missions, nor with the regulations of the Catholic Church. Thus, to give an example, he counts among the number of Catholics of British India only the Catholics of the Latin rite, while he neglects the M ronite Catholics of the Syrian rite.

<sup>8</sup> *Kleine Missions geographie u. statistik*, 161.

<sup>9</sup> *Realenzyklopædie fuer protestant. Theologie und Kirche*, Heft, 121, 122, 150.

supposes that there are  $7\frac{1}{4}$  millions of Protestant negroes, without, however, substantiating these exorbitant figures with any positive proof. In the Southern States, where the great masses of negroes dwell, there were according to Grundemann's later and more exact calculation 2,458,000 Protestant negroes. Accordingly the total number of 4 million is certainly not rated too low. In the last census of the United States there were counted in all 8,840,789 blacks and mulattoes. Now if we subtract from these figures the 4 millions of Protestants and the smaller number of Catholics, there will be a remainder of about 4,700,000 pagan negroes. If we add to the last result the number of pagan Indians, Chinese and Japanese, the total will be about 5 million pagans. In the preceding census the Mormons numbered 166,125 active members, which would suppose a total number of about one-half million. The number, finally, of those who do not belong to any of the said beliefs, or do not profess any religion at all must in this great conglomeration of nations be also estimated at one-half a million or three-quarters of a million.

There is a remainder, therefore, of the total population of the United States, which amounted in 1900 to  $76\frac{3}{10}$  millions, to 58 millions for Protestants. This is without doubt the maximum number, which does not correspond to the truth. No one conversant with American affairs would gainsay this. Millions of those who are here counted as members of the Protestant Church, would emphatically answer in the negative if asked were they Protestants or no. Yet, as we said above, no basis for an accurate account of the actual number of Protestants can be had, and therefore any attempt to fix the

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total number must be considered as arbitrary. On this condition we shall insert the said numbers into our subsequent general review of the different religious denominations in America:

|   | Catholics. | Protestants. | Jews.     | Pagans.   | Others.   |
|---|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| British North America and New Foundland United States of America..... | 2,301,693  | 3,212,746    | .....     | 58,652    | .....     |
| Middle America.....   | 10,976,757 | 58,000,000   | 1,000,000 | 5,000,000 | 1,300,000 |
| West Indies.....  | 16,150,946 | 58,490       | 92        | 40,224    | 71,707    |
| South America.....  | 4,964,481  | 912,167      | 3,000     | 430,000   | .....     |
|   | 36,957,002 | 373,564      | 12,000    | 1,919,698 | 22,805    |
| America. ...  | 71,350,879 | 62,556,967   | 1,015,092 | 7,448,574 | 1,394,512 |

Of the 144-145 million inhabitants of America, almost one-half profess the Catholic religion, and three-sevenths the Protestant. In contrast with these 134 million Christians are 1 million Jews and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million pagans. The remaining 2 millions are Mormons, Independent Religionists, and such as profess no religion at all, or whose religious belief could not be ascertained.

Far better and more positive data than we could give on the religious beliefs of America, are at our command for Europe. The great Russian Empire, which embraces almost the whole eastern part of Europe, took a general census on religion in 1897. By most of the governments of the Balkan Peninsula, except Greece and Turkey, census reports on religion have also been made within the last decade. In the countries of Central Europe, in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, in Holland, Luxemburg and in Norway and Sweden, a census was taken at the very close of the nineteenth century.

The other countries of Europe seem to show no census returns. For France and Italy, however, quite an accurate account of the different religious denominations can be obtained by comparing the results of the various beliefs fixed by an earlier census with the present state of the population. And in Spain, Portugal and Belgium the number of non-Catholics is so small, that any mistake which should occur in giving an estimate of these parts would be of no consequence to the result of the investigation. In the case only of Great Britain and Turkey we must needs have recourse to estimates, which though they are founded on figures taken from ecclesiastical statistics yet rest on a basis not altogether unsafe.

Since we have already made some general passing remarks on Europe in the first part of this essay, we now give a prospective table of the whole population of this part of the world. We remind the reader again that the word "Catholic," includes only the Roman Catholics and the Maronites or Orientals, who differ from the Church of Rome only in rite, not in matters of faith. The term Protestantism, on the contrary, is taken in its widest sense, so that all Christians who adhere neither to the Catholic nor to the Greek Orthodox, nor to any Schismatic Oriental Church, are considered as members of the Protestant Church. We especially call the attention of all who are conversant with the official figures concerning the various religious beliefs in Germany and other countries, to the fact that our figures for Protestants also include several religious denominations, who are designated in official publications by the title "Other Christians." Such an arrangement is necessary for the reason that in some countries very different Christian denominations are all put under the heading "Other

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Christians," and therefore a common heading for the whole of Europe cannot be made of all these.

The results of official reports on religion are also brought out into bolder relief in this table by designating them with the letter Z and stating the year in which the census was taken. To calculations which are based on a certain per cent of the population the letter B is appended, while S is added to show mere estimates. The figures which are here affixed to the different countries stand for the geographical sections of Europe, and therefore, the Channel Islands, Gibraltar and Malta are included in Great Britain, the Azores in Spain. But Madeira, which belongs to Portugal, as well as the Spanish Presidios and the Canary Islands, were taken in our account for Africa, while the Russian countries of the Caucasus were entered in our estimates of Asia.

Besides the denominations found under the different headings of this table, there were counted in Russia 1,736,464 Orthodox (Raskolnics) and 55,538 Oriental Schismatics, in Holland 8,754 Jansenists, in Roumania and Bulgaria 6,598 and 13,796 Schismatic Armenians respectively. The number of Schismatic Armenians and Syrians in Turkey can be fixed at 200,000. This brings the total number of Christians in Europe up to 373,975,951, while that of non-Christians is about 17,454,615. Hence the Christians number more than 95 per cent of the population of Europe.

Among Christian denominations, Catholicism with its 177,657,227 souls has still by far the most adherents. But the percentage of Catholics, which thirty years ago was still above 47 per cent. of the entire population, and about 50 per cent. of the Christian population of Europe, is now only 45.3 per cent of the entire population and 47.5

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|                                      | Catholics   | Protes-<br>tants. | Greek<br>Ortho-<br>dox. | Jews.      | Moham-<br>medans. | Oth-<br>ers. |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Andorra S 1900                       | 5,231       | .....             | .....                   | .....      | .....             | .....        |
| Belgium S 1900                       | 6,660,000   | 30,000 (1)        | .....                   | 3,000      | .....             | .....        |
| Bosnia, Herze-<br>govina Z 1895      | 334,142     | 3,847             | 673,246                 | 8,213      | 548,632           | 12           |
| Bulgaria Z 1900                      | 27,004      | 4,524             | 3,020,840               | 33,717     | 643,253           | 1,149        |
| Denmark Z 1901                       | 5,373 (2)   | 2,436,012         | 106                     | 3,476      | .....             | 4,573        |
| Danish Neigh-<br>boring Lands S 1901 | 34          | 93,685            | .....                   | .....      | .....             | .....        |
| Germany Z 1900                       | 20,321,441  | 35,434,782        | 6,472                   | 586,948    | .....             | 17,535       |
| France B 1901                        | 38,180,000  | 625,000           | .....                   | 55,000 (3) | .....             | 101,945      |
| Greece S 1896                        | 34,710      | .....             | 2,369,000               | 6,000      | 24,000            | .....        |
| Great Britain<br>and Ireland S 1901  | 5,500,000   | 36,000,000        | .....                   | 120,000    | .....             | 100,000      |
| Italy B 1901                         | 32,300,000  | 70,000            | .....                   | 50,000     | .....             | 50,000       |
| Lichtenstein Z 1891                  | 8,537       | 36                | .....                   | .....      | .....             | .....        |
| Luxemburg Z 1900                     | 232,838     | 2,318             | .....                   | 1,201      | .....             | 186          |
| San Marino S 1897                    | 9,535       | .....             | .....                   | .....      | .....             | .....        |
| Monaco Z 1893                        | 13,752      | 1,936             | 76                      | 64         | .....             | .....        |
| Montenegro S 1900                    | 12,924      | 10                | 201,067                 | .....      | 13,840            | .....        |
| Holland Z 899                        | 1,790,161   | 3,068,129         | .....                   | 103,988    | .....             | 140,856      |
| Norway Z 1900                        | 1,969       | 2,218,825         | .....                   | 642        | .....             | 18,444       |
| Austria Hun-<br>gary Z 1900          | 35,570,870  | 4,292,767         | 3,422,477               | 2,076,277  | .....             | 42,876       |
| Portugal S 1900                      | 5,277,000   | 500               | .....                   | 500        | .....             | .....        |
| Roumania Z 1899                      | 150,000 (4) | 18,276 (4)        | 5,408,743               | 269,015    | 43,740            | 16,148       |
| Russia and<br>Finland Z 1897         | 11,326,804  | 6,273,679         | 77,176,553              | 5,082,342  | 3,560,361         | 330,292      |
| Sweden Z 1890                        | 1,300       | 4,779,009         | 46                      | 3,402      | .....             | 234          |
| Switzerland Z 1900                   | 1,383,135   | 1,918,197         | .....                   | 12,551     | .....             | 11,150       |
| Servia Z 1895                        | 10,411      | 1,002             | 2,281,018               | 5,102      | 14,414            | 537          |
| Spain S 1901                         | 18,200,000  | 20,000 (5)        | .....                   | 1,000      | .....             | 28,000       |
| Turkey and<br>Crete S 1900           | 300,000     | .....             | 2,500,000               | 170,000    | 3,200,000         | .....        |
| Europe . . . .                       | 177,657,261 | 97,293,434        | 97,059,641              | 8,542,438  | 8,048,240         | 263,937      |

(1) According to Schneider, Kirchliches Jahrbuch, 3. Jahrg. (Guetersloh, 1903), 215.

(2) According to the account of the Apostolic Vicariate there are 9,674 Catholics. Perhaps the many Catholic servants, and the large number of Polish laborers, who live scattered over the country were by mistake considered as Protestants.

(3) According to an account of the Jewish consistories (compare Levasseur, La population française I, 341) there were in 1887, in France, 69,791 Jews. The number now may be over 70,000.

(4) A common number (163,276) for Catholics and Protestants was published, which according to a proportion formerly established, nearly distributes the number of both denominations as indicated above.

(5) According to Schneider a. a. O., 221.

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per cent of the Christian population. The cause of this decline is especially due on the one hand to the extraordinary natural increase of the Greek Orthodox Slavic nations, and on the other to the very slight growth of the Catholic population of France. The large emigration, moreover, from Ireland, Italy and Austria has also helped largely to change, at the expense of Catholicism, the proportionate per cent of the religious denominations of Europe. The last fact also explains why the number of Catholics, under English rule in Europe, has, despite the numerous conversions, remained almost stationary, or, if anything, shows even a slight falling off.

With regard to Protestantism this must be said: that we cannot compare the present results with those of other calculations, for the reason that the term Protestantism was far differently applied in different calculations. The result will naturally vary according as we add or omit the numerous sects whose relation to Protestantism may seem very dubious.

Now the truth of the published official figures for Russia, is, in the case of the Greek Orthodox, very much questioned by those who are versed in Russian affairs. It is almost a common opinion, that the number of so-  
"Raskolnics," which is officially fixed at 1,736,464 members, amount, in fact, to many millions. But this opinion cannot be confirmed by statistics.

Jews principally dwell, as the table will show, in Russia and in the Austrian Empire. More than one-half of the Jews of Europe inhabit Russia, and about one-quarter dwell in the Austrian Empire. Germany, too, possesses a considerable fraction of them. They, moreover, are comparatively very numerous in Roumania, though not as numerous as formerly they were thought to be, before



we had positive accounts of them. The Jews of Roumania were estimated at 400,000, while the census of 1899 showed only 269,015. The large emigration of Roumanian Jews to the United States has certainly diminished their number in the mother country.

The Mohammedans, excepting those in Turkey, dwell almost exclusively in the Balkan Peninsula, once a territory of Turkey, and in Southern Russia.—After deducting the aforesaid religious denominations, the remaining number, about one million inhabitants, is made up of such as could not be put under any of the headings here used, whether they professed no creed at all, or if they did, their religious profession could not be ascertained.

The following prospective table of the population of the whole earth is obtained by combining the individual sections of the globe.

According to the calculations of the famous statistician Prof. v. Yuraschke, which is based upon accurate and detailed investigation, the aggregate population of the world is 1,539<sup>10</sup> millions. The result of our effort is 1,537 millions. The comparatively small difference is explained by the fact that in several instances we could not obtain the results of the latest census reports which Yuraschke used in his calculations, because these more recent data on religion had not been published, and therefore we had to avail ourselves of older accounts.

Of these 1,537 millions, 549,017,000, therefore, or 35.7 per cent were Christians, 202,048,000 or 13.1 per cent Mohammedans and 11,037,000 or 0.7 per cent Jews, that is to say, 762,102,000 or 49.6 per cent are Monotheists. Hence nearly half the population of the world believes in one God.

<sup>10</sup> According to the 52d edition (1903): 1,547,470,000.

| Catholics.  | Protestants. | Greek Orthodox. | Raskolins. | Schismatic Oriental. | All Christians. | Jews.      | Mohammedans. | Brahmins (Hindoo). | Old Indian Religions. | Buddhists.  | Followers of Confucius and Ancestor Worshipers. | Taoists.   | Shintofists. | Fetich Worshipers and other Pagans. | Others and Unclassified. |
|-------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------|---|------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11,513,276  | 1,026,108    | 12,034,149      | 436,907    | 2,726,053            | 28,636,493      | 763,905    | 154,000,000  | 210,000,000        | 12,113,756            | 120,000,000 | 235,000,000                                     | 32,000,000 | 17,000,000   | 5,000,000                           | 431,878                  |
| 3,004,563   | 1,663,341    | 531,479         | ...        | 3,608,466            | 8,329,849       | 700,000    | 40,000,000   | ...                | ...                   | ...         | ...   | ...        | ...          | 113,000,000                         | ...                      |
| 979,943     | 3,187,259    | ...             | ...        | ...                  | 4,167,202       | 15,172     | ...          | ...                | ...                   | 50,000      | ...   | ...        | ...          | 550,000                             | 154,195                  |
| 71,450,879  | 62,556,967   | ...             | ...        | ...                  | 133,907,846     | 1,015,092  | ...          | 100,000            | ...                   | 200,000     | ...   | ...        | ...          | 71,590,000                          | 1,394,512                |
| 177,657,261 | 97,293,434   | 97,059,644      | 1,736,464  | 220,394              | 373,975,951(1)  | 8,542,438  | 8,048,240    | ...                | ...                   | ...         | ...   | ...        | ...          | ...                                 | 863,937                  |
| 264,505,922 | 166,627,109  | 109,147,272     | 2,173,371  | 6,554,913            | 549,017,341     | 11,036,607 | 202,048,240  | 210,100,000        | 12,113,756            | 120,250,000 | 235,000,000                                     | 32,000,000 | 17,000,000   | 144,700,000                         | 2,844,482                |

Including 8,754 Jansenists.

Among the Polytheistic religions Confucianism and Ancestor Worship rank first in numbers, with 235 million adherents.<sup>11</sup> Next comes Brahminism or Hindooism with 210 millions. The third is the once much overrated Buddhism with 120 million followers. Of the remaining pagan forms of religion the number of Taoists and Shintoists with 32 and 17 millions respectively, and that of the so-called "Old Indian Religions" which are related to Hindooism, can be fairly fixed according to statistical accounts at 12 millions. The rest are Fetich Worshipers, and other pagans who show the least pretence to a form of religion.—Finally, there are, principally in civilized countries, not a small number of Free Religionists, who profess no particular form of religion, and those who have no religion at all.

The number of Mohammedans at which we have arrived is remarkably high. Most calculations thus far have fixed the total number at 150-180 millions. Prof. E. Schmidt alone approaches our results quite closely with his 194 millions. Now we do not wish to deny the fact, that the estimates of the number of Mohammedans in China, in Dutch East India, and especially in Africa, are founded upon a rather weak basis, but we believe in virtue of the material that was obtainable, that further research in this field will also confirm the surprising results of our investigation.

With a total of 264,506,000 followers the Roman Cath-

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<sup>11</sup> The estimate of 300 millions, which H. Zeller gives, presupposes a much larger population in China than the results of Prof. Lupan's investigation (*Die Bevoelkerung der Erde*, xi, 44 ff.) will warrant, and must therefore be considerably reduced.

<sup>12</sup> Schobel, *Geographischer Handbuch zu Andrees Hand-atlas*, 4 Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1902, 209.

## 78 DIFFUSION OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

olic religion is the most widespread of religions. Almost half of Christendom (48.2 per cent) and more than a sixth of the whole human race is Catholic. Our figures give the minimum result. This is a sum that rests on a proof derived from authoritative census reports and calculations. How many individuals may have been omitted by the official or ecclesiastical publications, we cannot say. In the United States of North America alone there may have been several millions who were not registered. To this number must be added the natural increase of the population since the last census. This census, as we have seen above, runs back a number of years in some of the countries which we have considered. We therefore estimate the number of Catholics at the close of the 19th century to be at least 270 millions, and believe that every reader who has carefully followed us in our work will concede that the estimate is rather too low than too high. It is a matter of no little satisfaction to us to have this opportunity of showing the great similarity which exists between our results and those of Baumgarten. Both accounts are founded, as we said above, upon wholly different bases, and must therefore differ widely in particulars, since the ecclesiastical and political divisions do not correspond. The total results are almost perfectly identical: 265,373,639 Catholics according to Baumgarten's, 264,505,922 according to our investigation. A difference of a few hundred thousands in such large numbers can, naturally, be of little consequence, and therefore we seem in justice to recognize in this striking resemblance a proof of the truth of our statement.

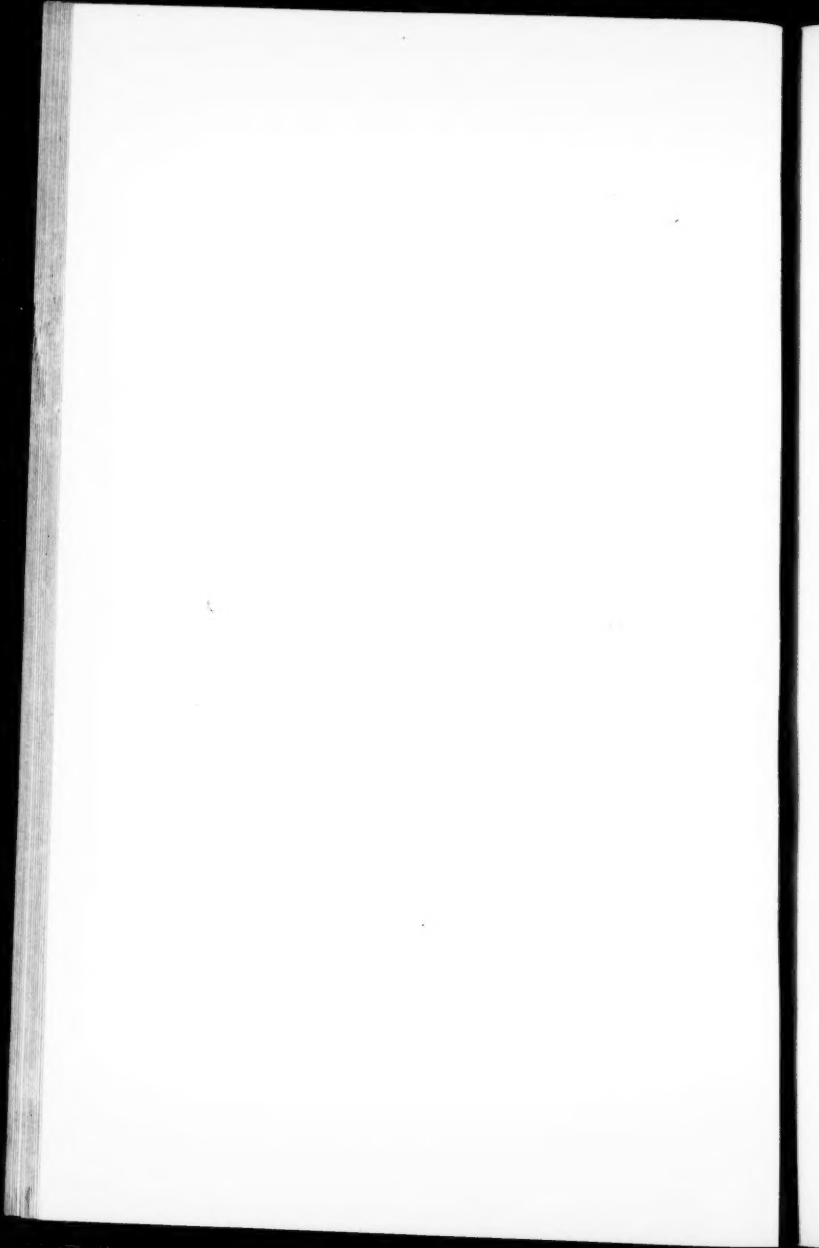
The number of Protestants (166,627,000 or 30.35 per cent of all Christians) in consequence of the natural growth of the population, must, during the last years of

the past century, also have increased several millions, so that they may be estimated to have numbered at the close of the 19th century nearly 170 millions. To form a correct estimate of these figures we must bear in mind that the meaning of the word Protestantism is applied to not only those who really profess the Protestant religion, but also to those who because they are not embraced under one common heading are added to the Protestant body. In statistical investigations on religion Protestantism, therefore, cannot in the strict sense of the word be compared as a whole with the other actual religious communions. This heading however, cannot be dispensed with in fixing the total number of Christians.

The rest of the 117,884,000 Christians are made up of Greek Orthodox, Schismatic Orientals, Raskolnics and Jansenists. The whole group amounts in all to 21.4 per cent of the entire Christian population.

The field of comparative statistics on religion to which the present investigation ought to be a contribution still needs to be opened up and perfected. Hence any suggestion that may go towards improving the work will be gratefully accepted.

H. A. KROSE, S. J.



# **Jubilee of the Immaculate Conception**

## **ENCYCLICAL LETTER**

### **of Our Holy Father Pius X**

**By Divine Providence Pope**



**TO THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS  
AND OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COM-  
MUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE,**

**VENERABLE BRETHREN,**

**HEALTH AND THE APOSTOLIC BLESSING.**

An interval of a few months will again bring round that most happy day on which, fifty years ago, Our Predecessor Pius IX., of holy memory, surrounded by a splendid throng of Cardinals and Bishops, pronounced and promulgated with the authority of the infallible magisterium, as a truth revealed by God that the Most Blessed Virgin Mary in the first instant of her conception was free from all stain of original sin. All the world knows the feelings with which the faithful of every nation of the earth received this proclamation and the manifestations of public satisfaction and joy which greeted it; for truly there has not been in the memory of man any more universal or more harmonious expression of sentiment shown towards the august Mother of God or the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

And, Venerable Brethren, why should we not hope to-day after the lapse of half a century, when we renew the memory of the Immaculate Virgin, that an echo of that holy joy will be awakened in our minds, and that the magnificent scenes of that distant day, of faith and of love

towards the august Mother of God, will be repeated? Of all this We are, indeed, made ardently desirous by the devotion, united with supreme gratitude for favors received, which We have always cherished toward the Blessed Virgin; and We have a sure pledge of the fulfilment of Our desires in the fervour of all Catholics, ready and willing as they are to multiply their testimonies of love and reverence for the great Mother of God. But We must not omit to say that this desire of Ours is especially stimulated by a sort of secret instinct which prompts Us to regard as not far distant the fulfilment of those great hopes, assuredly not unfounded, which the solemn promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception gave rise to in the minds of Pius, Our Predecessor, and of all the Bishops of the world.

Many, it is true, lament the fact that until now these hopes have been unfulfilled, and are prone to repeat the words of Jeremias: "*We looked for peace and no good came; for a time of healing, and behold fear.*"<sup>1</sup> But all such will be certainly rebuked as "*men of little faith,*" who make no effort to penetrate the works of God or to estimate them in the light of truth. For who can number the secret gifts of grace which God has bestowed upon His Church through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin throughout this period? And even overlooking these gifts, what is to be said of the Vatican Council so opportunely convoked; or of the dogma of Papal Infallibility promulgated in time to meet the errors that were about to arise; or, finally, of that new and unprecedented fervour with which the faithful of all classes and of every nation have long been wending their way hither to venerate in person the Vicar of Christ? Surely the Provi-

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremias viii., 15.



dence of God has shown itself admirably in our two predecessors, Pius and Leo, who with such great holiness ruled the Church in most turbulent times through a length of Pontificate conceded to no other before them. Then, again, no sooner had Pius IX. proclaimed as a dogma of Catholic faith, the exemption of Mary from the original stain, than the Virgin herself began in Lourdes those wonderful manifestations, followed by the vast and magnificent movements which have resulted in those two temples dedicated to the Immaculate Mother, where the prodigies which still continue to take place through her intercession furnish splendid arguments against the incredulity of our days.

Witnesses, then, as we are of all these great benefits which God has granted through the benign influence of the Virgin in those fifty years now about to be completed, why should we not believe that our salvation is nearer than we thought; all the more so since we know from experience that, in the dispensations of Divine Providence, when evils reach their limit, deliverance is not far distant. *"Her time is near at hand, and her days shall not be prolonged. For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob and will choose one out of Israel."*<sup>2</sup> Wherefore the hope we cherish is not a vain one, that we, too, may before long repeat: *"The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked; the rod of the rulers. The whole earth is quiet and still; it is glad and hath rejoiced."*<sup>3</sup>

But the first and chief reason, Venerable Brethren, why the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception should excite a

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 5, 7.

singular fervour in the souls of Christians lies for us in that restoration of all things in Christ which we have already set forth in Our first Encyclical letter. For can anyone fail to see that there is no surer or more direct road than by Mary, for uniting all mankind in Christ and obtaining through Him the perfect adoption of sons, that we may be holy and immaculate in the sight of God? For if to Mary it was truly said: "*Blessed art thou who hast believed because in thee shall be fulfilled the things that have been told thee by the Lord;*"<sup>4</sup> or in other words, that she would conceive and bring forth the Son of God; and if she did receive in her womb Him who is by nature Truth itself in order that "He, generated in a new order, and with a new nativity, though invisible in Himself, might become visible in our flesh";<sup>5</sup> the Son of God made man, being the "*author and finisher of faith,*" it surely follows that His Mother most holy should be recognized as participating in the divine mysteries and as being in a manner the guardian of them, and that upon her as upon a foundation, the noblest after Christ, rises the edifice of the faith of all centuries.

How think otherwise? God could have given us the Redeemer of the human race, and the Founder of the Faith, in another way than through the Virgin, but since Divine Providence has been pleased that we should have the Man-God through Mary, who conceived Him by the Holy Ghost and bore Him in her womb, it only remains for us to receive Christ from the hands of Mary. Hence wherever the Scriptures *prophecy of the grace which was to come in us* the Redeemer of mankind is almost invariably presented to us as united with His

<sup>4</sup> Luke i., 45.

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mother. The Lamb that is to rule the world will be sent— But He will be sent from the rock of the desert; the flower will blossom, but it will blossom from the root of Jesse. Adam, the father of mankind, looked to Mary crushing the serpent's head, and he restrained the tears which the malediction brought into his eyes; Noë thought of her when shut up in the ark of safety, and Abraham when prevented from the slaying of his son; Jacob at the sight of the ladder on which angels ascended and descended; Moses amazed at the sight of the bush which burned but was not consumed; David escorting the ark of God with dancing and psalmody; Elias as he looked at the little cloud that rose out of the sea. In fine, after Christ, we find in Mary the end of the law and the fulfilment of the figures and oracles.

And it cannot be doubted that through the Virgin, and through her more than through any other means, we have a way of reaching the knowledge of Jesus Christ offered to us when it is remembered that with her alone of all others Jesus for thirty years was united, as it behooves a son to be united with his mother, in the closest ties of intimacy and domestic life. Who more than His Mother could have a far-reaching knowledge of the admirable mysteries of the birth and childhood of Christ, and above all of the mystery of the Incarnation, which is the beginning and the foundation of faith? She not only *kept in her heart* the events of Bethlehem and what took place in Jerusalem in the Temple of the Lord, but sharing as she did the thoughts and the secret wishes of Christ she may be said to have lived the very life of her Son. Hence nobody ever knew Christ so profoundly as she did, and nobody can ever be more competent as a guide and teacher of the knowledge of Christ.

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Hence it follows, as We have already pointed out, that

the Virgin is more powerful than all others as a means of uniting mankind with Christ. Hence too since, according to Christ Himself "*Now this is eternal life: That they may know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent,*"<sup>6</sup> and since it is through Mary that we attain to the knowledge of Christ, through Mary also we most easily obtain that life of which Christ is the source and origin.

And if we consider ever so little how many and powerful are the reasons which prompt this most holy Mother to bestow on us these precious gifts, oh, how our hopes will be expanded!

For is not Mary the Mother of Christ? Then she is our Mother also. And we must in truth hold that Christ, the Word made Flesh, is also the Saviour of mankind. He had a material body like that of any other man: and as Saviour of the human family, he had a spiritual and mystical body, the society, namely, of those who believe in Christ. "*We are many, but one sole body in Christ.*"<sup>7</sup> Now the Blessed Virgin did not conceive the Eternal Son of God merely in order that He might be made man, taking His human nature from her, but also in order that by means of the nature assumed from her He might be the Redeemer of men. For which reason the Angel said to the Shepherds: "*To-day there is born to you a Saviour who is Christ the Lord.*"<sup>8</sup> Wherefore in the same holy bosom of His most chaste Mother, Christ took to Himself flesh, and united to Himself the spiritual body formed by those who were to believe in Him. Hence

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<sup>6</sup> John xvii., 3.

<sup>7</sup> Rom. xii., 5.

<sup>8</sup> Luke ii., 11.



Mary, carrying the Saviour within her, may be said to have also carried all those whose life was contained in the life of the Saviour. Therefore all we who are united to Christ, and as the Apostle says, are "*members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones*"<sup>9</sup> have issued from the womb of Mary like a body united to its head. Hence then in a spiritual and mystical fashion, we are all children of Mary, and she is Mother of us all; "the Mother, spiritually indeed, but truly the Mother of the members of Christ, who we are."<sup>10</sup>

If then the most Blessed Virgin is the Mother at once of God and men, who can doubt that she will endeavor with all diligence to procure that Christ, "*the Head of the Body of the Church*,"<sup>11</sup> may transfuse His gifts into us, His members, and above all know Him and "*live by Him*?"<sup>12</sup>

Moreover it was not only the glory of the Mother of God "to have presented to God the Only Begotten who was to be born of human members"<sup>13</sup> the material by which he was prepared as a Victim for the salvation of mankind, but Hers also the office of tending and nourishing that Victim and at the appointed time of offering Him at the altar. Hence that never dissociated manner of life and labors of the Son and the Mother which permits the application to both of the words of the Psalmist: "*My life is consumed in sorrow and my years in groans*."<sup>14</sup> When the supreme hour of the Son came, beside the Cross of Jesus there stood

<sup>9</sup> Ephesians v., 30.

<sup>10</sup> S. Augustine L. de S. Virginitate, c. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Colossians i., 18.

<sup>12</sup> 1 John iv., 9.

<sup>13</sup> S. Bede Ven. L. iv. in Luc. xl.

<sup>14</sup> Psalm xxx., 11.

Mary His Mother not merely occupied in contemplating the cruel spectacle, but rejoicing that her Only Son was offered for the salvation of mankind; and so entirely participating in His Passion, that, if it had been possible, "she would have gladly borne all the torments that her Son underwent."<sup>15</sup> From this community of will and suffering between Christ and Mary "she merited to become most worthily the Reparatrix of the lost world"<sup>16</sup> and Dispensatrix of all the gifts that Our Saviour purchased for us by His Death and by His Blood.

It cannot, of course, be denied that the dispensing of these treasures is the particular and peculiar right of Jesus Christ, for they are the exclusive fruit of His Death, who by His nature is the mediator between God and man. Nevertheless, by this union in sorrow and suffering, as We have said, which existed between the Mother and the Son, it has been allowed to the august Virgin "to be the most powerful mediatrix and advocate of the whole world with her Divine Son."<sup>17</sup> The source, then, is Jesus Christ, "*of whose fulness we have all received*,"<sup>18</sup> "*from whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in charity*."<sup>19</sup> But Mary, as St. Bernard justly remarks, is the *channel*;<sup>20</sup> or, if you will, that connecting portion by which the body is joined to the head and by which the head exerts its power and its virtue: "For she

<sup>15</sup> S. Bonaventure I. Sent. d. 48, ad Litt, dub. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Eadmeri Mon. De Excellentia Virg. Mariae, c. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Pius IX. *Ineffabilis*.

<sup>18</sup> John i., 16.

<sup>19</sup> Ephesians iv., 16.

<sup>20</sup> Serm. de temp on the Nativ. B. V. De Aqueductu n. 4.

is the neck of our Head by which He communicates to His Mystical body all spiritual gifts."<sup>21</sup>

We are thus, it will be seen, very far from declaring the Mother of God to be the author of supernatural grace which belongs to God alone; but since she surpassed all in holiness and union with Christ, and has been associated by Christ in the work of redemption, she, as the expression is, merits *de congruo* what Christ merits *de condigno*, and is the principal minister in the distribution of grace. "*He sitteth at the right hand of the Majesty on high,*"<sup>22</sup> but Mary sitteth as a Queen on His right hand, the securest refuge of those who are in peril, as well as the most faithful of helpers, so that we have naught to fear, or despair of as long as "she is our guide and our patroness; while she is propitious and protects."<sup>23</sup>

With these principles laid down and returning to our subject, will it not appear to all that it is right and proper to affirm that Mary whom Jesus made His assiduous companion from the house of Nazareth to the *place of Calvary* knew as none other knew the secrets of His Heart; distributes as by a mother's right the treasures of His merits; and is the surest help to the knowledge and love of Christ? They prove it only too truly who by their deplorable manner of life deceived by false teaching or the wiles of the devil fancy they can dispense with the aid of the Virgin Mother. Miserable and unhappy are they who neglect her on the pretence that thus they honor Christ. They forget that *the child is not found without Mary His Mother*.

Under these circumstances, Venerable Brethren, such

<sup>21</sup> St. Bernardin. Sen. Quadrag. de Evangel. setern. Serm. X.

a. 3 c. III.

<sup>22</sup> Hebrews i., 3.

<sup>23</sup> Pius IX. Bulla *Ineffabilis*.

is the end which all the solemnities that are everywhere being prepared in honour of the holy and Immaculate Conception of Mary should have in view. No homage is more agreeable to her, none is sweeter to her than that we should know and really love Jesus Christ. Let then crowds fill the churches—let solemn feasts be celebrated and public rejoicings be made. Such manifestations are eminently suited for enlivening our faith. But unless heart and will be added, they will all be empty forms; mere appearances of piety. At such a spectacle, the Virgin, borrowing the words of Jesus Christ, would address us with the just reproach: "*This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.*"<sup>24</sup>

For to be genuine our piety towards the Mother of God ought to spring from the heart; external acts have neither utility nor value if the acts of the soul have no part in them. Now these latter can only have one object, which is that we should fully carry out what the divine Son of Mary commands. For if true love alone has the power to unite the wills of men, it is of prime necessity that we should have one will with Mary to serve Jesus our Lord. What this most prudent Virgin said to the servants at the marriage feast of Cana she addresses also to us: "*Whatsoever He shall say to you, do ye.*"<sup>25</sup> Now here is the word of Jesus Christ: "*If you would enter into life, keep the commandments.*"<sup>26</sup> Let then each one fully convince himself of this, that if his piety towards the Blessed Virgin does not hinder him from sinning, or does not move his will to amend an evil life, it is a deceptive and lying piety, wanting as it is in proper effect and in its natural fruit.

<sup>24</sup> Matthew xv., 8.

<sup>25</sup> John ii., 5.

<sup>26</sup> Matthew xix., 17.

If anyone desires a confirmation of this it may easily be found in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. For leaving aside tradition which, as well as Scripture, is a source of truth, whence has this conviction of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin shown itself in every age to be so much in keeping with the Christian instinct as to appear fixed and innate in the hearts of the faithful? We shrink with horror from saying, as Denis the Carthusian so well expresses it, that "this woman who was to crush the head of the serpent should have been crushed by him and that the Mother of God should have ever been a daughter of the Evil One."<sup>27</sup> No, to the Christian intelligence the idea is unthinkable that the flesh of Christ, holy, stainless, innocent, was formed in the womb of Mary of a flesh which had ever, if only for the briefest moment, contracted any stain. And why so, but because an infinite opposition separates God from sin? There certainly we have the origin of the conviction common to all Christians that before Jesus Christ, clothed in human nature, cleansed us from our sins in His blood, He accorded Mary the grace and special privilege of being preserved and exempted, from the first moment of her conception, from all stain of original sin.

If then God has such a horror of sin as to have willed to keep the future Mother of His Son not only free from the stains which are voluntarily contracted but, by a special favour and in prevision of the merits of Jesus Christ, from that other stain of which the sad sign is transmitted to all the children of Adam by a sort of hapless heritage, who can doubt that it is a duty for every

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<sup>27</sup> Sent. d. 3, q. 1.

one who desires to deserve well of Mary by his homage to correct his vicious and depraved habits and subdue the passions which incite him to evil?

Whoever moreover wishes, and no one ought not so to wish, that his devotion should be perfect and worthy of her, should go further and strive might and main to imitate her example. It is a divine law that those only attain everlasting happiness who have by such faithful following reproduced in themselves the form of the patience and sanctity of Jesus Christ: "*for whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of His Son; that He might be the first-born amongst many brethren.*"<sup>28</sup> But such generally is our infirmity that we are easily discouraged by the greatness of such an example. By the providence of God, however, another example is proposed to us, which is both as near to Christ as human nature allows, and more nearly accords with the weakness of our nature. And this is no other than that of the Mother of God. "Such was Mary," very pertinently points out St. Ambrose, "that her life is an example for all." And, therefore, he rightly concludes: "Have then before your eyes, as an image, the virginity and life of Mary from whom as from a mirror shines forth the brightness of chastity and the form of virtue."<sup>29</sup>

Now if it becomes children not to omit the imitation of any of the virtues of this most Blessed Mother, we yet wish that the faithful apply themselves by preference to the principal virtues which are, as it were, the nerves and joints of the Christian life—we mean faith, hope, and charity towards God and our neighbour. Although no part

<sup>28</sup> Romans viii., 29.

<sup>29</sup> De Virginit. L. ii., c. ii.

of the life of Mary fails to show the brilliant character of these virtues, yet they attained their highest degree of splendour at the time when she stood by her dying Son. Jesus is nailed to the cross, and He is reproached with maledictions for having "*made Himself the Son of God.*"<sup>20</sup> But she unceasingly recognized and adored the divinity in Him. She bore His dead body to the tomb, but never for a moment doubted that He would rise again. Then the love of God with which she burned made her a partaker in the sufferings of Christ and the associate in His passion; with him moreover, as if forgetful of her own sorrow, she prayed for the pardon of the executioners although they in their hate cried out: "*His blood be upon us and upon our children.*"<sup>21</sup>

But lest it be thought that We have lost sight of Our subject, which is the Immaculate Conception, what great and opportune help will be found in it for the preservation and right development of those same virtues! What in fact is the starting point of the enemies of religion in spreading the great and grievous errors by which the faith of so many is shaken? They begin by denying that man has fallen by sin and has been cast down from his primal state. Hence they regard as mere fables original sin and the evils that were its consequence. Humanity, vitiated in its source, vitiated in its turn the whole race of man; and thus was evil introduced amongst men and the necessity for a Redeemer involved. Rejecting all this it is easy to understand that no place is left for Christ, for the Church, for grace or for anything that is above and beyond nature; in a word the whole edifice of

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<sup>20</sup> John xix., 7.

<sup>21</sup> Matthew xxvii., 25.

faith is shaken from top to bottom. But let the people believe and confess that the Virgin Mary has been from the first moment of her conception preserved from all stain; and it is straightway necessary to admit both original sin and the rehabilitation of the human race by Jesus Christ, the Gospel, and the Church and the law of suffering. Thus Rationalism and Materialism will be torn up by the roots and destroyed, and there will be given to the teaching of Christianity the glory of guarding and protecting the truth. It is moreover, a vice common to the enemies of the faith of our time especially, that they repudiate and proclaim the necessity of repudiating all respect and obedience for the authority of the Church, and even of any human power, in the idea that it will thus be more easy to make an end of faith. Here we have the origin of anarchism, than which nothing is more pernicious and destructive to both the natural and supernatural order. Now this evil, which is equally fatal to society at large and to Christianity, is done away with by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception by the obligation which it imposes of recognizing in the Church a power before which not only the will but the intelligence has to subject itself. It is because of such subjection of the reason that Christians sing the praise of the Mother of God: "Thou art all fair, O Mary, and the stain of original sin is not in thee."<sup>32</sup> And thus once again is justified what the Church attributes to this august Virgin that she has exterminated all heresies in the world.

And if as the Apostle declares, "*faith is nothing else than the substance of things to be hoped for*"<sup>33</sup> everyone will easily grant that our faith is confirmed and our hope aroused and strengthened by the Immaculate Conception

<sup>32</sup> Mass of Immac. Concep.

<sup>33</sup> Hebrews xi., 1.



of the Virgin. The Virgin was kept the more free from all stain of original sin because she was to be the Mother of Christ, and she was the Mother of Christ that the hope of everlasting happiness might be born again in our souls.

Leaving aside charity towards God, who can contemplate the Immaculate Virgin without feeling moved to fulfil that precept which Christ called peculiarly His own, namely that of loving one another as He loved us? "*A great sign,*" thus the Apostle St. John describes a vision divinely sent him that appeared in the heavens: "*A woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet and a crown of twelve stars upon her head.*"<sup>34</sup> Every one knows that this woman signified the Virgin Mary, the stainless one who brought forth our Head. The Apostle continues: "*And, being with child, she cried travailing in birth, and was in pain to be delivered.*"<sup>35</sup> John therefore saw the Most Holy Mother of God already in eternal happiness, yet travailing in a mysterious childbirth. What birth was it? Surely it was the birth of us who, still in exile, are yet to be generated to the perfect charity of God, and to eternal happiness. And the birth pains show the love and desire with which the Virgin from heaven above watches over us, and strives with unwearying prayer to bring about the completion of the number of the elect.

This same charity we desire that all should earnestly endeavour to attain, taking advantage of the extraordinary feasts in honour of the Immaculate Conception of

<sup>34</sup> Apocalypse xii., 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* xii., 2.

the Blessed Virgin. Oh how bitterly and fiercely is Jesus Christ now being persecuted, as well as the most holy religion which He founded! And how grave is the peril that threatens many of being drawn away to abandon the faith by the errors that are spread broadcast! "*Then let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall.*"<sup>36</sup> And let all, with humble prayer and entreaty, implore of God, through the intercession of Mary, that those who have abandoned the truth may repent. We know, indeed, from experience that such prayer, born of charity and trust in the Virgin, has never been vain. True, even in the future the strife against the Church will never cease, "*for there must be also heresies, that they also who are re-proved may be made manifest among you.*"<sup>37</sup> But neither will the Virgin ever cease to succour us in our trials, however grave they be, and to carry on the fight fought by her since her conception, so that every day we may repeat: "To-day the head of the serpent of old was crushed by her."<sup>38</sup>

In order that heavenly graces may help Us more abundantly than usual during this year to honour and to imitate the Blessed Virgin, and that thus We may more easily secure Our object of restoring all things in Christ, We have determined, after the example of Our Predecessors at the beginning of their Pontificates, to grant to the Catholic world an extraordinary indulgence in the form of a Jubilee.

Wherefore, confiding in the mercy of Almighty God and in the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, by virtue of that power of binding and loosing which, unworthy though We are, the Lord has given Us,

<sup>36</sup> 1 Corinthians x., 12.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, xi., 19.

<sup>38</sup> Office Immac. Con., II. Vespers, Magnif.

We do concede and impart the most plenary indulgence of all their sins to the faithful, all and several of both sexes, dwelling in this our beloved City, or coming into it, who from the first Sunday in Lent, that is from the 21st of February, to the second day of June, the solemnity of the Most Sacred Body of Christ inclusively, shall three times visit one of the four Patriarchal basilicas, and there for some time pray God for the liberty and exaltation of the Catholic Church and this Apostolic See, for the extirpation of the heresies and the conversion of all who are in error, for the concord of Christian Princes and the peace and unity of all the faithful, and according to Our intention; and who, within the said period, shall fast once, using only meagre fare, excepting the days not included in the Lenten Indult; and, after confessing their sins, shall receive the most holy Sacrament of the Eucharist; and to all others, wherever they be, dwelling outside this city, who, within the time above mentioned or during a space of three months, even not continuous, to be definitely appointed by the ordinaries according to the convenience of the faithful, but before the eighth day of December, shall three times visit the cathedral church, if there be one, or, if not, the parish church; or, in the absence of this, the principal church; and shall devoutly fulfil the other works above-mentioned. And We do at the same time permit that this indulgence, which is to be gained only once, may be applied in suffrage for the souls which have passed from this life united in charity with God.

We do, moreover, concede that travellers by land or sea may gain the same indulgence immediately on their return to their homes provided they perform the works already indicated.

To confessors approved by their respective ordinaries We grant faculties for commuting the above works on-

joined by Us for other works of piety, and this concession shall be applicable not only to regulars of both sexes but to all others who cannot perform the works prescribed, and We do grant faculties also to dispense from Communion children who have not yet been admitted to it.

Moreover to the faithful, all and several, the laity and the clergy both secular and regular of all orders and institutes, even those calling for special mention, We do grant permission and power, for this sole object, to select any priest regular or secular, among those actually approved (which faculty may also be used by nuns, novices and other women living in the cloister, provided the confessor they select be one approved for nuns) by whom, when they have confessed to him within the prescribed time with the intention of gaining the present jubilee and of fulfilling all the other works requisite for gaining it, they may on this sole occasion and only in the forum of conscience be absolved from all excommunication, suspension and every other ecclesiastical sentence and censure pronounced or inflicted for any cause by the law or by a judge, including those reserved to the ordinary and to Us or to the Apostolic See, even in cases reserved in a special manner to anybody whomsoever and to Us and to the Apostolic See; and they may also be absolved from all sin or transgression, even those reserved to the ordinaries themselves and to Us and the Apostolic See, on condition however that a salutary penance be enjoined together with the other prescriptions of the law, and in the case of heresy after the abjuration and retraction of error as is enjoined by the law; and the said priests may further commute to other pious and salutary works all vows even those taken under oath and reserved to the Apostolic See (except those of chastity, of religion, and of obligations which have been accepted by third persons); and with the said penitents,

even regulars, in sacred orders such confessors may dispense from all secret irregularities contracted solely by violation of censures affecting the exercise of said orders and promotion to higher orders.

But We do not intend by the present Letters to dispense from any irregularities whatsoever, or from crime or defect, public or private, contracted in any manner through notoriety or other incapacity or inability; nor do We intend to derogate from the Constitution with its accompanying declaration, published by Benedict XIV. of happy memory, which begins with the words *Sacramentum poenitentiae*; nor is it Our intention that these present Letters may, or can, in any way avail those who, by Us and the Apostolic See, or by any ecclesiastical judge, have been by name excommunicated, suspended, interdicted or declared under other sentences or censures, or who have been publicly denounced, unless they do within the allotted time satisfy, or, when necessary, come to an arrangement with the parties concerned.

To all this we are pleased to add that We do concede and will that all retain during this time of Jubilee the privilege of gaining all other indulgences, not excepting plenary indulgences, which have been granted by Our Predecessors or by Ourselves.

We close these Letters, Venerable Brethren, by manifesting anew the great hope We earnestly cherish that through this extraordinary gift of Jubilee granted by Us under the auspices of the Immaculate Virgin, large numbers of those who are unhappily separated from Jesus Christ may return to Him, and that love of virtue and fervour of devotion may flourish anew among the Christian people. Fifty years ago, when Pius IX. proclaimed as an article of faith the Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Mother of Christ, it seemed, as we have already said, as if an incredible wealth of grace were poured out upon the earth; and with the

increase of confidence in the Virgin Mother of God, the old religious spirit of the people was everywhere greatly augmented. Is it forbidden us to hope for still greater things for the future? True, we are passing through disastrous times, when we may well make our own the lamentation of the Prophet: *"There is no truth and no mercy and no knowledge of God on the earth. Blasphemy and lying and homicide and theft and adultery have inundated it."*<sup>39</sup> Yet in the midst of this deluge of evil, the Virgin Most Clement rises before our eyes like a rainbow, as the arbiter of peace between God and man: *"I will set my bow in the clouds and it shall be the sign of a covenant between me and between the earth."*<sup>40</sup> Let the storm rage and sky darken—not for that shall we be dismayed. *"And the bow shall be in the clouds, and I shall see it and shall remember the everlasting covenant."*<sup>41</sup> *"And there shall no more be waters of a flood to destroy all flesh."*<sup>42</sup> Oh yes, if we trust as we should in Mary, now especially when we are about to celebrate, with more than usual fervour, her Immaculate Conception, we shall recognize in her the Virgin most powerful "who with virginal foot did crush the head of the serpent."<sup>43</sup>

In pledge of these graces, Venerable Brethren, We impart the Apostolic Benediction lovingly in the Lord to you and to your people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the second day of February, 1904, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

<sup>39</sup> Osee iv., 1-2.

<sup>40</sup> Genesis, ix., 13.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 15.

<sup>43</sup> Off. Immac. Conc.

**A Parody**  
*of the*  
**Catholic Religion**





## A Parody of the Catholic Religion



PERHAPS the most universally appreciated form of humour is that of parody and burlesque. There are, however, limits to the number of subjects that may be parodied; a serious-minded man is not usually amused, but shocked, at a parody of some devout hymn, or a burlesque of a holy rite, however much he may differ from the sentiments expressed in the hymn, however superstitious he may believe the rite to be. It is only the sacred nature of the subject and the blasphemous significance of its conclusions that prevent the Positive Religion of Humanity from being a most successful piece of unconscious humour, Comte has only failed in making blasphemy really ridiculous, because blasphemy, in any form, is too serious a subject for laughter. Yet, at times, we must admit, our appreciation of the incongruity of the whole situation gets the better of our sense of reverence when we read of man's elaborate system for the due worship of himself. If, in giving an account of the Mont Pelée eruption, some half-educated scribbler were to quote *Parturiunt montes*, few of us could restrain a smile. That terrible catastrophe was no more subject for laughter than is blasphemy; yet we should not blame ourselves for smiling at a journalist's use of the quotation in such a context. Similarly, we may be excused if we do not receive with becoming seriousness Comte's distortion of sacred things in the

parody of Christianity which he gives to the world with such assurance and gravity.

The want of proportion in the system, the irrelevancy of its faith to its form of worship, its calm attitude of conscious superiority, its pretentious claims, all go to distract us from the fact that it is a seriously propounded scheme to supplant God in His own world.

The Positivist Religion is not one whose claims have to be met and disproved by solid argument; the divinity student does not spend much time in controverting it, for he is not long in discovering that it stands—almost unique in the history of religious thought—as a system that needs no refutation. Let it be exposed clearly, preferably in the very words of its founder, and let the common sense of mankind judge it without the aid of dialectics. It contains its own antidote.

A short time ago Mr. John K. Ingram, LL.D., translated and published a selection of such passages from the letters of Auguste Comte as bear upon **the social views** of the philosopher and the religion which he founded in his later years. Were the passages published by an anonymous compiler one might be led to suspect that there was an ironical purpose in the publication and that the editor aimed at refuting, in the indirect way we have suggested, the religious views contained therein. Mr. Ingram however, in his preface, expresses a hope that 'the extracts will contribute to the edification of serious minds,' and there is no semblance of anything less than the highest appreciation manifested in his attitude towards his author.

The modest object of these pages is to present in brief Comte's religious views as set forth in these letters, with occasional supplementary excerpts from the more sys-

tematised exposition of his doctrine contained in his *Catechism of Positive Religion*.

In order to understand better the genesis of his ideas it may be useful to recall a few biographical details. Comte was born in 1798 and died in 1875. His life was divided into two very distinct periods, that preceding and that following the year 1845. The work of the first period has won for him many admirers and followers, whereas the extraordinary and eccentric development of his later years has—to use Mr. Balfour's words—‘tried the fidelity of his disciples and the gravity of his critics.’ His education was encyclopædic in extent; nor does it appear that his knowledge of any branch to which he applied himself was merely superficial. His *Philosophie Positive* published in six volumes between the years 1828 and 1841 gave the result of his studies and observations, and on this book chiefly is founded whatever reputation he has acquired as a thinker.

At the commencement of this work he formulated his famous *Law of the Three States*. This law asserted that the thought of man, in each branch of knowledge, passes through three distinct states—the *theological*, the *metaphysical*, and the *positive*. In the first, the theological, man explains natural phenomena by an appeal to something personal outside nature. This stage includes all grades of belief from the lowest fetichism and polytheism to the highest form of Deism as perfected in Christianity and Catholicism. Man's thought is gradually ‘emancipated’ from this state, and passes into the ‘metaphysical’ in which law and force are considered as the sole and sufficient explanation of phenomena. The third or ‘positive’ state is reached when man lays aside all attempts at an explanation of the causes of

things and is satisfied with their classification. Comte spent the greater part of his life in this state. It is one in which there is, evidently, no room for religion, and it seemed to be the mental terminus of scientific unbelief.

After the publication of these volumes circumstances brought Comte across Madame Clotilde de Vaux, a young lady whose personality was seriously to affect Comte's philosophy. To her influence is largely attributed the religious developments of the *Politique Positive* which embodied Comte's later views. He had married in 1825, but his married life had been an unhappy one, and he had divorced his wife in 1842 on grounds of incompatibility of temper. Madame de Vaux was herself a *divorcée* whose husband was doing a life sentence of penal servitude at the time of her meeting with Comte. Their intimacy had lasted but a year when, to his great grief, Madame de Vaux died. Comte thus expresses his indebtedness to her:—

Through her I have at length become for humanity in the strictest sense a two-fold organ. . . . My career had been that of Aristotle; I should have wanted energy for that of St. Paul but for her. I had extracted sound philosophy from real science; I was enabled by her to found on the basis of that philosophy the Universal Religion.

He speaks of her as 'the incomparable angel appointed in the course of human destiny to transmit to me the results of the gradual evolution of our moral nature.' She is his 'incomparable patroness,' and to her he owes an 'incomparable inspiration.' Those of M. Comte's disciples who follow him in his religion share, but in a calmer tone, his admiration for Mme. de Vaux. Mr. Ingram closes his preface with the remark that 'the names of Auguste Comte and Clotilde de Vaux will be

ever inseparably associated in the memory of a grateful posterity.' Up to the time of his meeting with Clotilde, Comte had developed his head at the expense of his heart. Cold science had been far more to him than ardent affection, reason ruled his emotions. He appears to have had little appreciation of the tender sex. Indeed, the year before he met Clotilde de Vaux, he wrote to a lady friend:—

I have had several opportunities of becoming acquainted with women distinguished by their intellectual ability but you are hitherto, Madame, the only one in whom I have had the happiness of seeing moral delicacy united with mental elevation. Those in whom I have found sufficient real superiority to be above the blue-stocking habits disappointed me by showing a deplorable tendency to the aberrations of the *femme libre*.

Comte considered his *Politique* immensely superior to his *Philosophie*. He even admits that for some years he had sought to discountenance the reading of the latter by his new disciples, as to it he attributed the chief imperfections of his old ones.

'I ought not to have published it till the end of my career, and then as a purely historical volume,' he writes. He found that the prestige of science impeded the progress of minds the most completely liberated from the theological and even the metaphysical yoke. Comte admitted that the reading of his *Philosophie* had an enervating effect even on himself when, after neglecting it for fifteen years, he took it up to read some chapters. 'Besides their moral dryness, which made me read immediately a canto of Ariosto to restore my tone, I profoundly felt their mental inferiority in relation to the true philosophic view at which the heart has completely established me.'

But to turn directly to the new religion, which Comte proposes for the acceptance of those who have been emancipated by his *Philosophie* from the theological and metaphysical states. We must not expect it to be too reasonable for, as Comte admits, 'it is on feeling and imagination that the ascendancy of Positivism depends; reasoning will henceforth be secondary.' With regard to his new God Comte says: 'We condense the whole of our positive conceptions in the one single idea of an immense and eternal Being, Humanity.' ('Why immense and why eternal?' the Positive catechumen might well ask his instructor.) This concept Comte explains as a legitimate development from scientific Positivism.

The subjective theory of God [he writes] enables us to conciliate all without concessions to any, by showing that theological beliefs were spontaneous institutions of Humanity for providing, in her childhood, imaginary guides which the predominant species could not find in the real order: . . . we now pass to the just view—to represent the pretended creator as really a creation, not of man, but of Humanity. . . . Thus the Positivists honour, according to times and places, first, the gods and then their single successor as provisional creations of the Great Being.

Again, he writes to an apostate Positivist who had returned to Catholicism:—

Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the heart and intellect of the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism, which, while devoting us to Humanity, directs us to pay fitting honour to your God as well as to the divinities which preceded him, as spontaneous institutions which She developed to guide Her childhood, though they have now become incapable of acceptance by Her maturity.

Comte smiles benignly on the world which has not yet put away the 'things of a child,' much as a mother with

an infant in her arms might smile on the little girl sitting at her feet who nurses a rag doll which she has made.

'Towards Humanity, who is for us the true Great Being, we, the conscious elements of which She is composed, shall henceforth direct every aspect of our life, individual or collective. Our thoughts will be devoted to the knowledge of Humanity, our affections to Her love, our actions to Her service.'

To meet the obvious difficulty that much of Humanity, as she manifests herself, is anything but an object of supreme reverence, Comte explains that 'the new Great Being is formed by the co-operation only of such existences as are of a kindred nature with itself, excluding such as have proved only a burden to the human race.'

We have thus an amended reading for the first questions in our Catechism: 'Who made you? Humanity. Why did Humanity make you? Humanity made me to know It, to love It, and to serve It in this world, and to be'— here, however, we must stop; for Humanity has no world but this, and so we cannot 'be happy with It for ever in the next.' Comte has destroyed immortality, or, rather, he has 'emancipated' us from the degrading belief in the old 'objective immortality.' We ought to part willingly with that, for 'it could never clear itself of the egoistic or selfish character.' 'When I say that my soul is immortal I mean that my soul shall never die': is a statement whose crude literal significance is unworthy of altruism. Comte allows a 'noble subjective immortality to our soul,' a heaven and a hell which is freed from the individualism of the theological hell and heaven. 'The good is oft interred with their bones,' is a line the truth of which Comte would stoutly deny. 'Why,' he would say, 'the good lives after them: it is

the *Subjective Altruistic Immortality of their souls.* 'Positivism,' he hastens to explain, 'preserves this valuable term *soul* to stand for the whole of our intellectual and moral functions without involving any allusion to some supposed entity answering to the name.' These intellectual and moral functions remain in their effects on a grateful or ungrateful posterity; and thus it is that our soul is immortal.

Humanity, we are told, is the real Providence, controlling our destinies: 'We are in circumstances in which Humanity, by the whole of its antecedents, has placed us.' 'The least among us can and ought to aspire constantly to maintain and even improve this Being.' This becomes the natural object of all our activity, both public and private; and it gives the character of our whole existence either in feeling or in thought. For our existence, as a whole, must be devoted to love and to know in order rightly to serve our Providence by a wise use of all the means which it furnishes to us. In its turn again, this continued service of our lives, whilst strengthening our true unity, renders us at once both happier and better. And at length it has the power to incorporate us at the end of life in that Great Being, in the development of which we have had a part to bear.

The notion of this new God is not one easy to grasp; indeed, Mr. Harrison, one of Comte's most enthusiastic English disciples, admits that 'the most difficult of all the conceptions of positivism is the abstract sense of Humanity.' Comte tells us that this Great Being 'can be decomposed into its chronological Trinity—the collective beings Priority, the Public and Posterity'; that is to say, past, present, and future mankind. Of this Trinity, *Priority* is primarily proposed as an object of



worship. Comte, however, does not discourage acts of adoration of the living, especially if the 'abstract sense of Humanity' is concreted in some member of the female sex who inspires a tender reverence.

He warns us of our duty in this matter, saying:—

We ought to push as far as adoration our respect and gratitude for living beings provided they offer a true superiority, without waiting till death has idealized them. . . . Adoration becomes for the Positive a means of moral improvement to which he ought to resort in as great a degree as possible. . . . In the Positive State, it is sufficient that the adored being, without being considered perfect, should be really superior to us, even though this superiority should be only partial, especially if it concerns the heart, as in the ordinary case of feminine types, who are the principal objects of personal worship.

Writing of Clotilde de Vaux, Comte says:—

My noble and tender friend understood that the systematization of the worship of woman was to form one of the chief social results of the new philosophy. It was just that the great attribute should be first realized in my private adoration of her. . . . She is, for all time, incorporated into the true Supreme Being, of whom her tender image is allowed to be for me the best representative. In each of my three daily prayers I adore both together.

He determines that in painting or in sculpture the symbol of the new Divinity will always be a woman at the age of thirty with her son in her arms.

So far we have introduced the positive God and the concrete symbols through which Abstract Humanity was to receive its worship. Public prayer has its forms provided, the Roman Missal evidently suggesting such an Advent Collect as the following:—*Thou Supreme Power, who hast hitherto guided Thy children under other names, but in this generation hast come to Thy*

*own in Thy own proper person revealed for all ages to come by Thy Servant Auguste Comte, etc.*—a prayer which, we believe, is recited piously by present-day Positivists at their religious services.

The 'communion of saints' has its analogue in the Positivist system, the difference being that Positive saints being incorporated into the Divinity receive adoration proper.

The Comtest martyrology contains over five hundred names. It includes all those who were judged by Comte to have benefitted their posterity in any marked degree. The thirteen months of the *Positive Calendar* are dedicated to Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, Cæsar, St. Paul, Charlemagne, Dante, Gutenberg, Shakespeare, Descartes, Frederick II., Bichat. These are the greater saints. Each month is divided into four weeks, a special week-patron being assigned for each. Numa, Buddha, Mahomet, Aeschylus, Virgil, Plato, St. Augustine, Hildebrand, St. Bernard, Milton, Raphael, Moliere, Mozart, Aquinas, Hume, Cromwell, Richelieu, Innocent III., St. Louis—are names of some of these week-saints or 'worthies,' as Mr. Congreve calls them in his translation of the *Catechism*. The first few letters in Mr. Ingram's selection are dated in the customary manner, but, after arranging his calendar, Comte heads his letters with such dates as 6 Homer, year 65; 8 St. Paul, 1 Archimedes, 12 Cæsar, 25 Moses. Canonization is at the discretion of the head of the Positive Religion: as a rule it is not proclaimed till seven years after a 'worthy's' death. In a letter to Alexander J. Ellis Comte writes:—

I thank you for sending me the two extracts from the unfortunate Shelley, of whom I have formed the same opinion as

you, though his poems were hitherto unknown to me. After reading these important passages, I resolved to give their author a place, as adjunct of Byron, in the next reprint of the *Positive Calendar*.

Twenty-seven lines of poetry quoted to the great Pope of Positivism thus won his apotheosis for Shelley.

Comte hoped that a judicious use of his powers of canonization might assist materially in adding to the number of his proselytes. Thus, in a letter to Henry Edger, he writes:—

The addition of the name of the admirable Indian woman Marina to the *Positive Calendar* as adjunct to Joan of Arc, ought to furnish, at the right time, a germ of some adhesions amongst the unfortunate Mexican race, who will thus be led to feel that they are thought of in Paris.

He similarly hopes to win Catholics by a glorification of the Blessed Virgin. He writes to Georges Audiffert:—

In your intended communication with the local Jesuits, I advise you to represent Positivism as condensed in the utopia of the Virgin-Mother, which must attract to us the special attention of all worthy Catholics of both sexes.

Again—

It is not by the Mass that the Catholic *cultus* can serve as a preparation for the Positive adoration. The transition will be better made through the worship of the Virgin who furnishes to Spanish and Italian souls a spontaneous idealisation of Humanity by the apotheosis of woman.

Writing to John Metcalf he says:—

In relation to the last stage of Catholicism, Positivists should specially glorify the Virgin as the mystic precursor of Humanity. Her adoration will be easily transformed so as to lead Catholic souls, especially those of women, to the Positive worship. It is chiefly by directing this transition that the Jesuits, regenerated

as Ignatians, will be able to aid us in reorganising the West, provided only that they recognize the normal superiority of the religion founded on the natural existence of the benevolent inclinations which Catholicism was forced to deny, in order to leave a perfectly clear field for the egoism of its Divinity.

A religion must have a doctrine as well as an object of worship: a creed as well as a God. The Positive faith embraces all objects of positive knowledge from the multiplication table and the fact of gravitation to the laws of political economy.

By doctrine Comte meant simply the sum of positive knowledge, the **consensus** of all science, the real laws of the whole field of phenomena, physical and moral, cosmological, or all those relating to the world, and sociological, or all those relating to mankind. Thus is science reconciled with religion, by religion having as one of its parts, as its external and intellectual basis the sum of science. Science is itself in its natural sense the *creed* . . . which religion idealises by *worship*, and carries out into harmonious action by *discipline*.

Comte was the first High Priest of Positivism. He says, in 1855:—

I must proceed, with the assistance of all true Positivists, to constitute directly a priesthood, which cannot always consist of myself alone, whatever antipathy its creation may inspire in literary men incapable of being admitted into it. . . . Religion is insufficient without a suitable clergy.

The faithful were exhorted to contribute a regular subsidy for the support of their pastors. As High Priest Comte was intolerant of interference or criticism; he complains bitterly of the old habits of distrust and insubordination which prompt some Positivists to isolate themselves from the others and even schismatically from their head.

Even though pretended Positivists should admit all our dogmas, their social action would be essentially fruitless if they did not subordinate themselves to the universal Pontiff, the one source of the regenerating group.

Comte is the supreme and infallible judge of doctrine. The duty of his disciples is, he tells them, to propagate and apply his doctrine 'without aiming at criticising or even improving it.' In 1856 he writes to Georges Audiffrent:—

In order to consolidate and develop discipline, by creating the first element of a hierarchy, I have lately proclaimed in the Positive Society my thirteen Testamentary Executors, and have invited my followers to consider the persons thus chosen as forming a fraternal aristocracy amongst my disciples, which will render our church more stable and more active, since no association can really exist without inequality.

The Positive priesthood is not conferred before the age of 42; aspirants, corresponding to sub-deacons, are ordained at 28; vicars (or deacons?) at 35. It is the duty of Positive priests to instruct the faithful in their creed—*i.e.*, the sciences, with a special obligation of instructing them in ethics and politics. The preparation for the due performance of this task involved many years of laborious study. There are perhaps no degrees conferred in a modern university which a really well-trained Positive priest would be unfitted to receive, except, perhaps, those in Divinity; his scientific studies having presumably 'emancipated' him too thoroughly from the 'theological state' for a serious application of his mind to dogma. A Positive aspirant would be unable to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, even in their widest and 'most catholic' sense. Marriage is an essential prerequisite to taking vicar's orders; Comte having decided that no man could duly perform the duty of a priest un-

less he were constantly under the influence of woman. A bachelor was—in theological language—*irregularis*.

The new religion was well provided with sacraments. They number nine, viz.: Presentation, Initiation, Admission, Destination, Marriage, Maturity, Retirement, Transformation, and Incorporation.

‘Mixed marriages are,’ says Comte, ‘one of the essential privileges of Positivism. They will be frequent in the early future, so as to promote the universal advent of the final faith.’

One of Comte’s disciples, Henry Edger, wrote to him about a scheme for instituting Positive monasteries of a kind, but he was sharply checked by his chief:—

I cannot adopt your project of a sort of Positivist monastery. It seems to me directly opposed to the development of the domestic affections, which our religion regards as the necessary foundation of social existence. If, amongst the exceptional men who surround you, some, weary of their isolation, feel a vague impulse to come together, it is far better that the pressure should push them toward family life.

Comte discovered that the *Imitation of Christ* could be adopted to meet the needs of his new disciples. It was his practice to read a chapter of a Kempis every morning, and he tells one of his correspondents that if he made it a rule to read the *Imitation* daily he would gain more, intellectually and morally, than by an endless perusal of journals, reviews, or pamphlets. He did not venture to publish an amended edition of a Kempis, saying: ‘At present the transformation of the *Imitation* by substituting *Humanity* for *God* does not seem to me capable of a suitable execution for the public, notwithstanding its private utility for all true Positivists.’ He strongly disapproved of the Bible: ‘The substitution of

this dangerous reading, which has only an historical value, for that of the *Imitation* would be an anarchical retrogradation.'

The founder of Positivism did not look for the immediate and universal diffusion of his religion through the world, for he was aware that the greater bulk of mankind showed no anxious desire to be 'emancipated' from the theological, metaphysical, and scientific states. He was, however, convinced that his invention was a panacea for the ills of mankind, and he had no doubts about its ultimate acceptance by the majority of men. Comte possessed at least one qualification essential to success in the foundation of a new school of thought, he believed fully in himself and in his mission. 'Positivists,' he writes to Mr. Hutton, 'destined as they are to direct the world, . . . cannot fulfil their mission aright without a constant feeling of their mental and moral superiority.' 'Positivism is henceforth without any competitor in the intellectual and moral reorganisation of the West.' Comte concluded his third course of philosophical lectures on the general history of Humanity with these words:—

In the name of the Past and of the Future, the Servants of Humanity—theoricians and practitioners—come forward to claim as their due the general direction of the world in order to construct at last the true Providence, moral, intellectual, and material; excluding once and for all from political supremacy all the different servants of God—Catholic, Protestant, or Deist—as at once belated and a source of trouble.

Again,—

The Faith of Positivists, now complete, enables them to offer decisive and coherent solutions on all questions of the past, the future, and even of the present, which can ever arise, whilst always exhibiting the character which I have summed up in the

formula, 'Conciliatory in act, inflexible in principle.' Neither calm nor dignity is any longer possible for the Westerns of our day, save in the bosom of Positivism.

According to Comte's announcement the twentieth century is to see Positivism sufficiently accepted by the rulers of the world. He congratulates himself in 1853 on the fact that 'the British Cabinet contained *one incomplete Positivist*.' 'Conservatives,' he says, 'are everywhere, and especially in the United States, naturally the best adherents of Positivism.'

Comte was disappointed with the British workingman. He speaks of his 'distrust and reserve,' of his 'obstinately passive though by no means indifferent attitude' towards Social and Religious Positivism. He says, however,

Positivism must find among the workingmen of America the best promoters of the regeneration of the British proletariat, too much repressed in the mother country by aristocratic domination and the Anglican hypocrisy.

Of the French working class he says, in 1857:—

It is truly a shame that M. Magnin is hitherto the only French workingman whom Positivism has thoroughly converted, though his old revolutionary habits still often show themselves in the details of civic life.

The philosopher was anxious to win the support of the Society of Jesus, and sent a representative to Rome in 1857 to interview Father Beckx, the General of the Order. As might be expected the latter refused to accept any league which had not for its direct object the triumph of the name of Jesus. Nothing daunted Comte renewed the attempt by forwarding to Father Beckx copies of the *Positive Catechism* and his *Appeal to Conservatives*. The receipt of the books was acknowledged



—a fact which Comte hopefully comments on as follows:—

I feared the Papal Customs might intercept the transmission by post of my presentation. His (Fr. Beckx') written thanks have been quite courteous to M. Sabatier and me; we now entertain the hope that the books will be seriously read at the Jesuit centre. . . . Perhaps the reading of these books may strike the present chiefs of Catholicism (*sic*) sufficiently to induce them to utilize the sojourn at Rome of my excellent envoy without waiting for the publication of my *Appeal to the Ignatians*. In designating them as Ignatians, I recall the fact that our calendar has justly honoured their chief, and I deliver them from a name as faulty in itself as it is associated with general discredit. . . . They can, however, only serve as our auxiliaries, accepting our presidency, after having recognized our superiority—especially on the moral side.

Comte regarded Catholicism as the creed most closely allied to his own, and he welcomed conversions from Protestantism to the Catholic faith as a step towards reception into his own religion. He counted on enlisting one in every hundred of the French clergy—an expectation which in the sequel, we need hardly say, was not realised.

Such, then, is Religious Positivism. We trust that the less formal expression of Comte's thoughts on the great question may have proved interesting to those of our readers who have not seen the published editions of his letters to his intimates.

We have to be grateful to the founder of Positivism for one striking omission in the exposition of his new faith. He has not trifled with that name which was given to the truest and greatest representative of Humanity, the real benefactor and regenerator of our race, Whom we can adore without idolatry, the name which is above all names, at the sound of which every knee

should bow. Jesus Christ is not mentioned in any of Comte's letters nor in his *Catechism*.

In the latter he alludes indirectly to Christ when he attributes the foundation of Christianity to St. Paul, 'whose sublime self-abnegation facilitated the growth of the new unity by accepting a founder who had no claim.' St. Paul, he would say, is the first great altruist for, having himself introduced Catholicism into the world, he attributed its foundation to Christ.

We have finished our brief description of Comte's parody of Christianity. Does it need any refutation? We think that our readers will agree with us that nothing can so effectually bring its absurdity into prominence as the simple exposition of its doctrines and ritual. 'Love your fellowmen' is the only moral precept of any value which it promulgates: but nineteen hundred years ago that lesson was inculcated by the words and example of Him who laid down His life for love of His fellowmen, and who having drawn to Himself the love of all, with a higher altruism reflected the rays of charity upon mankind, saying to those who love Him: 'What ye do to the least of these My little ones, Amen I say to ye, you are doing it to Me.' 'By this shall men know that ye are My disciples, that ye love one another.'

FRANCIS WOODLOCK, S.J.

*The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, February, 1904.

# The Thirteenth Centenary of St. Gregory

Encyclical Letter of Our Holy Father

**PIUS X.**

By Divine Providence

**POPE**



TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, AND OTHER ORDINARIES IN PEACE AND COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC SEE,

PIUS X., POPE.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,

HEALTH AND THE APOSTOLIC BENEDECTION.

JOYFUL indeed is the remembrance, Venerable Brethren, of that great and incomparable Pontiff, first of the name of Gregory, whose thirteenth centenary solemnity we are about to celebrate. By that God who *killeth and maketh alive*, who *humbleth and exalteth*, it was ordained, not, We think, without a special providence, amid the almost innumerable cares of Our Apostolic ministry, amid all the anxieties which the government of the Universal Church imposes upon Us, amid Our pressing solicitude to satisfy as best We may your claims, Venerable Brethren, who have been called to a share in Our Apostolate, and those of all the faithful entrusted to Our care, that Our gaze at the beginning of Our Pontificate should be turned at once towards that most holy and illustrious Prede-

cessor of Ours, the honor of the Church and its glory. For Our heart is filled with great confidence in his most powerful intercession with God, and strengthened by the memory of the sublime maxims he inculcated in his lofty office and of the virtues devoutly practiced by him. And since by the force of the former and the fruitfulness of the latter he has left on God's Church an impression so far reaching, so deep, so lasting, that his contemporaries and posterity have justly given him the name of Great, and that to-day, after all these centuries, the eulogy of his epitaph is still verified: "He lives eternal in every place by his innumerable good works,"<sup>1</sup> it will surely be given, with the help of Divine grace, to all followers of his wonderful example, to fulfil the duties of their own offices, as far as human weakness permits.

There is but little need to repeat here what public documents have made known to all. When Gregory assumed the Supreme Pontificate the disorder in public affairs had reached its climax; the ancient civilization had all but disappeared and barbarism was spreading throughout the dominions of the crumbling Roman Empire. Italy, abandoned by the Emperors of Byzantium, had been left a prey of the still unsettled Lombards who roamed over the whole country, laying waste everything with fire and sword and bringing desolation and death in their train. This very city, threatened from without by its enemies, tried from within by the scourges of pestilence, floods and famine, was reduced to such a miserable plight that it had become a problem how to keep the breath of life in the citizens and in the immense multitudes who flocked hither for refuge. Here were to be found men and women of

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<sup>1</sup> Apud Joann. Diac., *Vita Greg.* iv. 68.

all conditions, bishops and priests carrying the sacred vessels they had saved from plunder, monks and innocent spouses of Christ who had sought safety in flight from the swords of the enemy or from the brutal insults of abandoned men. Gregory himself calls the Church of Rome: "An old ship wofully shattered; for the waters are entering on all sides, and its timbers, buffeted by the daily stress of the storm, are growing rotten and herald shipwreck."<sup>2</sup> But the pilot raised up by God had a strong hand, and when placed at the helm succeeded not only in making the port in despite of the raging seas, but in saving the vessel from future storms.

Truly wonderful is the work he was able to effect during his reign of little more than thirteen years. He was the restorer of Christian life in its entirety, stimulating the devotion of the faithful, the observance of the monks, the discipline of the clergy, the pastoral solicitude of the bishops. *Most prudent father of the family of Christ* that he was,<sup>3</sup> he preserved and increased the patrimony of the Church, and liberally succored the impoverished people, the Christian commonwealth, and individual churches, according to the necessities of each. *Becoming truly God's Consul* (Epitaph), he pushed his fruitful activity far beyond the walls of Rome, and entirely for the advantage of civilized society. He opposed energetically the unjust claims of the Byzantine Emperors; he checked the audacity and curbed the shameless avarice of the exarchs and the imperial administrators, and stood up before the world as the defender of social justice. He tamed the ferocity of the Lombards, and did not hesitate

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<sup>2</sup> *Registrum* i., 4 ad Joannem episcop. Constantino.

<sup>3</sup> Joann. Diac., *Vita Greg.* ii. 51.

to meet Agulfus at the gates of Rome to prevail upon him to raise the siege of the city, just as the Pontiff Leo the Great did in the case of Attila; nor did he desist in his prayers, in his gentle persuasion, in his skilful negotiation, until he saw that dreaded people settle down and adopt a more regular government; until he knew that they were won to the Catholic faith, mainly through the influence of the pious Queen Theodolinda, his daughter in Christ. Hence Gregory may justly be called the saviour and liberator of Italy—*his own land*, as he tenderly calls her.

Through his incessant pastoral care the embers of heresy in Italy and Africa died out, ecclesiastical life in the Gauls was re-organized, the Visigoths of the Spains were welded together in the conversion which had already been begun among them, and the renowned English nation, which, "situated in a corner of the world, and which had hitherto remained obstinate in the worship of wood and stone,"<sup>4</sup> also received the true faith of Christ. Gregory's heart overflowed with joy at the news of this precious conquest, for his was the heart of a father embracing his most beloved son, while attributing all the merit of it to Jesus the Redeemer, "for whose love," as he himself writes, "we are seeking our unknown brethren in Britain, and through whose grace we are finding the unknown ones we were seeking."<sup>5</sup> And so grateful to the Holy Pontiff was the English nation that they called Him always: *our Master, our Doctor, our Apostle, our Pope, our Gregory*, and considered itself as the seal of his apostolate. In fine, so salutary and so

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<sup>4</sup> *Reg.* viii. 29, 30, ad Eulog. Episcop. Alexandr.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg.* xi. 36 (28), ad Augustin. Anglorum Episcopum.

efficacious was his action that the memory of the works wrought by him became deeply impressed on the minds of posterity, especially during the Middle Ages, which breathed, so to say, the atmosphere infused by him. It fed on his words, conformed its life and manners according to the example inculcated by him, with the result that Christian social civilization was happily introduced into the world in opposition to the Roman civilization of the preceding centuries, which now passed away for ever.

*This is the change of the right hand of the Most High!* And well may it be said that in the mind of Gregory the hand of God alone was operative in these great events. What he wrote to the most holy monk Augustine about this same conversion of the English may be equally applied to all the rest of his apostolic acts: "Whose work is this but His who said: My Father worketh till now, and I work?<sup>6</sup> To show the world that He wished to convert it, not by the wisdom of men, but by His own power, He chose unlettered men to be preachers to the world; and the same He has now done, vouchsafing to accomplish through weak men great things among the nation of the Angles."<sup>7</sup> We, indeed, may discern much that the holy Pontiff's profound humility hid from his own sight: his knowledge of affairs, his talent for bringing his undertakings to a successful issue, the wonderful prudence shown in all his provisions, his assiduous vigilance, his persevering solicitude. But it is, nevertheless, true that he never put himself forward as one invested with the might and power of the great ones of the earth, for instead of using the exalted prestige of the Pontifical dignity, he preferred to call himself the *Servant of the Ser-*

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<sup>6</sup> John v. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Reg. xi. 36 (28).

*vants of God*, a title which he was the first to adopt. It was not merely by profane science or the "persuasive words of human wisdom" that he traced out his career, or by the devices of civil politics, or by systems of social renovation, skilfully studied, prepared and put in execution; nor yet, and this is very striking, by setting before himself a vast programme of apostolic action to be gradually realized; for we know that, on the contrary, his mind was full of the idea of the approaching end of the world which was to have left him but little time for great exploits. Very delicate and fragile of body though he was, and constantly afflicted by infirmities which several times brought him to the point of death, he yet possessed an incredible energy of soul which was forever receiving fresh vigor from his lively faith in the infallible words of Christ, and in His divine promises. Then again, he counted with unlimited confidence on the supernatural force given by God to the Church for the successful accomplishment of her divine mission in the world. The constant aim of his life, as shown in all his words and works, was, therefore, this: to preserve in himself, and to stimulate in others this same lively faith and confidence, doing all the good possible at the moment in expectation of the Divine judgment.

And this produced in him the fixed resolve to adopt for the salvation of all the abundant wealth of supernatural means given by God to His Church, such as the infallible teaching of revealed truth, and the preaching of the same teaching in the whole world, and the sacraments which have the power of infusing or increasing the life of the soul, and the grace of prayer in the name of Jesus which assures heavenly protection.

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<sup>8</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 4.



## THEN AND NOW.

These memories, Venerable Brethren, are a source of unspeakable comfort to Us. When We glance around from the walls of the Vatican We find that, like Gregory, and perhaps with even more reason than he, We have grounds for fear, with so many storms gathering on every side, with so many hostile forces massed and advancing against Us, who are at the same time so utterly deprived of all human aid to ward off the former and to help us to meet the shock of the latter. But when We consider the place on which Our feet rest and on which this Pontifical See is based, We feel Ourselves perfectly safe on the rock of Holy Church. "For who does not know," wrote St. Gregory to the Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria, "that Holy Church stands on the solidity of the Prince of the Apostles, who received his name from his firmness, for he was called Peter from the word rock?"<sup>9</sup> Supernatural force has never during the flight of ages been found wanting in the Church, nor have Christ's promises failed; these remain to-day just as they were when they brought consolation to Gregory's heart—nay, they are endowed with even greater force for Us after having stood the test of centuries and so many changes of circumstances and events.

Kingdoms and empires have passed away; peoples once renowned for their history and civilization have disappeared; time and again the nations, as though overwhelmed by the weight of years, have fallen asunder; while the Church, indefectible in her essence, united by ties indissoluble with her heavenly Spouse, is here to-day radiant with eternal youth, strong with the same primi-

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<sup>9</sup> *Registr.* vii. 37 (40).

tive vigor with which she came from the Heart of Christ dead upon the Cross. Men powerful in the world have risen up against her. They have disappeared, and she remains. Philosophical systems without number, of every form and every kind, rose up against her, arrogantly vaunting themselves her masters, as though they had at last destroyed the doctrine of the Church, refuted the dogmas of her faith, proved the absurdity of her teachings. But those systems, one after another, have passed into books of history, forgotten, bankrupt; while from the Rock of Peter the light of truth shines forth as brilliantly as on the day when Jesus first kindled it on His appearance in the world, and fed it with His Divine words: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass."<sup>10</sup>

We, strengthened by this faith, firmly established on this rock, realizing to the full all the heavy duties that the Primacy imposes on Us—but also all the vigor that comes to Us from the Divine Will—calmly wait until all the voices which now shout around Us, proclaiming that the Church has gone beyond her time, that her doctrines are passed away forever, that the day is at hand when she will be condemned either to accept the tenets of a godless science and civilization or to disappear from human society, be scattered to the winds. Yet at the same time We cannot but remind all, great and small, as Pope St. Gregory did, of the absolute necessity of having recourse to this Church in order to have eternal salvation, to follow the right road of reason, to feed on the truth, to obtain peace and even happiness in this life.

Wherefore, to use the words of the Holy Pontiff.

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<sup>10</sup> Matth. xxiv. 35.

"Turn your steps towards this unshaken rock upon which Our Saviour founded the Universal Church, so that the path of him who is sincere of heart may not be lost in devious windings."<sup>11</sup> It is only the charity of the Church and union with her which "unite what is divided, restore order where there is confusion, temper inequalities, fill up imperfections."<sup>12</sup> It is to be firmly held "that nobody can rightly govern in earthly things, unless he knows how to treat divine things, and that the peace of States depends upon the universal peace of the Church."<sup>13</sup> Hence the absolute necessity of a perfect harmony between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil, each being by the will of God called to sustain the other. For, "power over all men was given from heaven that those who aspire to do well may be aided, that the path to heaven may be made broader, and that earthly sovereignty may be handmaid to heavenly sovereignty."<sup>14</sup>

From these principles was derived that unconquerable firmness shown by Gregory, which We, with the help of God, will study to imitate, resolved to defend at all costs the rights and prerogatives of which the Roman Pontificate is the guardian and the defender before God and man. But it was the same Gregory who wrote to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch: "When the rights of the Church are in question, we must show, even by our death, that we do not, through love of some private interest of our own want anything contrary to the

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<sup>11</sup> *Reg.* viii. 24 ad Sabin. episcop.

<sup>12</sup> *Registr.* v. 58 (53) ad Virgil episcop.

<sup>13</sup> *Registr.* v. 37 (20) ad Mauric. Aug.

<sup>14</sup> *Registr.* iii. 61 (65) ad Mauric. Aug.

common weal."<sup>15</sup> And to the Emperor Maurice: "He who through vain glory raises his head against God Almighty and against the statutes of the Fathers, shall not bend my neck to him, not even with the cutting of swords, as I trust in the same God Almighty."<sup>16</sup> And to the Deacon Sabinian: "I am ready to die rather than permit that the Church degenerate in my days. And you know well my ways, that I am long-suffering; but when I decide not to bear any longer, I face danger with a joyful soul."<sup>17</sup>

Such were the fundamental maxims which the Pontiff Gregory constantly proclaimed, and men listened to him. And thus, with princes and peoples docile to his words, the world regained true salvation, and put itself on the path of a civilization which was noble and fruitful in blessings in proportion as it was founded on the incontrovertible dictates of reason and moral discipline, and derived its force from truth divinely revealed and from the maxims of the Gospel.

But in those days the people, albeit rude, ignorant, and still destitute of all civilization, were eager for life, and this no one could give except Christ, through the Church. He came "that they may have life and have it more abundantly."<sup>18</sup> And truly they had life and had it abundantly, precisely because as no other life but the supernatural life of souls could come from the Church, this includes in itself and gives additional vigor to all the energies of life, even in the natural order. "If the root be holy so are the branches," said St. Paul to the Gentiles, "and thou being a wild olive art ingrafted in them,

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<sup>15</sup> *Registr.* v. 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Registr.* v. 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Registr.* v. 6 (iv. 47).

<sup>18</sup> John x. 10.

and art made partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive tree."<sup>19</sup>

To-day, on the contrary, although the world enjoys a light so full of Christian civilization, and in this respect cannot for a moment be compared with the times of Gregory, yet it seems as though it were tired of that life, which has been and still is the chief and often the sole fount of so many blessings—and not merely past but present blessings. And not only does this useless branch cut itself off from the trunk, as happened in other times when heresies and schisms arose, but it first lays the axe to the root of the tree, which is the Church, and strives to dry up its vital sap that its ruin may be the surer and that it may never blossom again.

In this error, which is the chief one of our time and the source whence all the others spring, lies the origin of so much loss of eternal salvation among men, and of all the ruins affecting religion which we continue to lament, and of the many others which we still fear will happen if the evil be not remedied. For all supernatural order is denied, and, as a consequence, the divine intervention in the order of creation and in the government of the world and in the possibility of miracles; and when all these are taken away the foundations of the Christian religion are necessarily shaken. Men even go so far as to impugn the arguments for the existence of God, denying with unparalleled audacity and against the first principles of reason the invincible force of the proof which from the effects ascends to their cause, that is God, and to the notion of His infinite attributes. "For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen,

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<sup>19</sup> Rom. xi. 16, 17.

being understood by the things that are made: His eternal power also and divinity."<sup>20</sup> The way is thus opened to other most grievous errors, equally repugnant to right reason and pernicious to good morals.

The gratuitous negation of the supernatural principle, proper to *knowledge falsely so-called*, has actually become the postulate of a historical criticism equally false. Everything that relates in any way to the supernatural order, either as belonging to it, constituting it, presupposing it, or merely finding its explanation in it, is erased without further investigation from the pages of history. Such are the Divinity of Jesus Christ, His Incarnation through the operation of the Holy Ghost, His Resurrection by His own power, and in general all the dogmas of our faith. Science once placed on this false road, there is no law of criticism to hold it back; and it cancels at its own caprice from the holy books everything that does not suit it or that it believes to be opposed to the pre-established theses it wishes to demonstrate. For take away the supernatural order and the story of the origin of the Church must be built on quite another foundation, and hence the innovators handle as they list the monuments of history, forcing them to say what they wish them to say, and not what the authors of those monuments meant.

Many are captivated by the great show of erudition which is held out before them, and by the apparently convincing force of the proofs adduced, so that they either lose the faith or feel that it is greatly shaken in them. There are many too, firm in the faith, who accuse critical science of being destructive, while in itself it is

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<sup>20</sup> Rom. i. 20.

innocent and a sure element of investigation when rightly applied. Both the former and the latter fail to see that they start from a false hypothesis, that is to say, from science falsely so-called, which logically forces them to conclusions equally false. For given a false philosophical principle, everything deduced from it is vitiated. But these errors will never be effectually refuted, unless by bringing about a change of front, that is to say, unless those in error be forced to leave the field of criticism in which they consider themselves firmly entrenched for the legitimate field of philosophy through the abandonment of which they have fallen into their errors.

Meanwhile, however, it is painful to have to apply to men not lacking in acumen and application the rebuke addressed by St. Paul to those who fail to rise from earthly things to the things that are invisible: "They became vain in their thoughts and their foolish heart was darkened; for professing themselves to be wise they became fools."<sup>21</sup> And surely foolish is the only description of him who consumes all his intellectual forces in building upon sand.

Not less deplorable are the injuries which accrue from this negation to the moral life of individuals and of civil society. Take away the principle that there is anything divine outside this visible world, and you take away all check upon unbridled passions even of the lowest and most shameful kind, and the minds that become slaves to them riot in disorders of every species. "God gave them up to the desires of their heart, unto uncleanness, to dishonor their own bodies among themselves."<sup>22</sup> You are well aware, Venerable Brethren, how truly the plague of

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<sup>21</sup> Rom. i. 21, 22.

<sup>22</sup> Rom. i. 24.

depravity triumphs on all sides, and how the civil authority, wherever it fails to have recourse to the means of help offered by the supernatural order, finds itself quite unequal to the task of checking it. Nay, authority will never be able to heal other evils as long as it forgets or denies that all power comes from God. The only check a government can command in this case is that of force; but force cannot be constantly employed, nor is it always available; yet the people continue to be undermined as by a secret disease, they become discontented with everything, they proclaim the right to act as they please, they stir up rebellions, they provoke revolutions, often of extreme violence, in the State; they overthrow all rights, human and divine. Take away God and all respect for civil laws, all regard for even the most necessary institutions disappears; justice is scouted; the very liberty that belongs to the law of nature is trodden under foot; and men go so far as to destroy the very structure of the family, which is the first and firmest foundation of the social structure. The result is that in these days hostile to Christ, it has become more difficult to apply the powerful remedies which the Redeemer has put into the hands of the Church in order to keep the peoples within the lines of duty.

Yet there is no salvation for the world but in Christ: "For there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we may be saved."<sup>23</sup> To Christ then we must return. At His feet we must prostrate ourselves to hear from His divine mouth the words of eternal life, for He alone can show us the way of regeneration, He alone teach us the truth, He alone restore life to us. It is He who has said: "I am the way, the truth, and the life."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Acts iv. 12.

<sup>24</sup> John xiv. 16.



Men have once more attempted to work here below without Him, they have begun to build up the edifice after rejecting the corner stone, as the Apostle Peter rebuked the executioners of Jesus for doing. And lo! the pile that has been raised again crumbles and falls upon the heads of the builders, crushing them. But Jesus remains forever the corner-stone of human society, and again the truth becomes apparent that without Him there is no salvation: "This is the stone which has been rejected by you, the builders, and which has become the head of the corner, neither is there salvation in any other."<sup>25</sup>

From all this you will easily see, Venerable Brethren, the absolute necessity imposed upon every one of us to revive with all the energy of our souls and with all the means at our disposal, this supernatural life in every branch of society—in the poor working-man who earns his morsel of bread by the sweat of his brow, from morning to night, and in the great ones of the earth who preside over the destiny of nations. We must, above all else, have recourse to prayer, both public and private, to implore the mercies of the Lord and His powerful assistance. "Lord, save us—we perish,"<sup>26</sup> we must repeat like the other Apostles when buffeted by the storm.

But this is not enough. Gregory rebukes the bishop who, through love of spiritual solitude and prayer, fails to go out into the battlefield to combat strenuously for the cause of the Lord: "The name of bishop, which he bears, is an empty one." And rightly so, for men's intellects are to be enlightened by continual preaching of the truth, and errors are to be efficaciously refuted by the

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<sup>25</sup> Acts iv. 11, 12.

<sup>26</sup> Matthew viii. 25.

principles of true and solid philosophy and theology, and by all means provided by the genuine progress of historical investigation. It is still more necessary to inculcate properly in the minds of all the moral maxims taught by Jesus Christ, so that everybody may learn to conquer self, to curb the passions of the mind, to stifle pride, to live in obedience to authority, to love justice, to show charity towards all, to temper with Christian love the bitterness of social inequalities, to detach the heart from the goods of the world, to live contented with the state in which Providence has placed us, while striving to better it by the fulfilment of our duties, to thirst after the future life in the hope of eternal reward. But, above all, it is necessary that these principles be instilled and made to penetrate into the heart, so that true and solid piety may strike root there, and all, both as men and as Christians, may recognize by their acts, as well as by their words, the duties of their state and have recourse with filial confidence to the Church and her ministers to obtain from them pardon for their sins, to receive the strengthening grace of the Sacraments, and to regulate their lives according to the laws of Christianity.

With these chief duties of the spiritual ministry it is necessary to unite the charity of Christ, and when this moves us there will be nobody in affliction who will not be consoled by us, no tears that will not be dried by our hands, no need that will not be relieved by us. To the exercise of this charity let us dedicate ourselves wholly; let all our own affairs give way before it, let our personal interests and convenience be set aside for it, making ourselves "all things to all men,"<sup>27</sup> to gain all men to the

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<sup>27</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 22.

Lord, giving up our very life itself, after the example of Christ, who imposes this as a duty on the pastors of the Church: "The good shepherd gives his life for his sheep."<sup>28</sup>

These precious admonitions abound in the pages which the Pontiff St. Gregory has written, and they are expressed with far greater force in the manifold examples of his admirable life.

Now since all this springs necessarily both from the nature of the principles of Christian revelation, and from the intrinsic properties which Our Apostolate should have, you see clearly, Venerable Brethren, how mistaken are those who think they are doing service to the Church, and producing fruit for the salvation of souls, when by a kind of prudence of the flesh they show themselves liberal in concessions to science falsely so-called, under the fatal illusion that they are thus able more easily to win over those in error, but really with the continual danger of being themselves lost. The truth is one, and it cannot be halved; it lasts forever, and is not subject to the vicissitudes of the times. "Jesus Christ, to-day and yesterday, and the same forever."<sup>29</sup>

And so too are all they seriously mistaken who, occupying themselves with the welfare of the people, and especially upholding the cause of the lower classes, seek to promote above all else the material well-being of the body and of life, but are utterly silent about their spiritual welfare and the very serious duties which their profession as Christians enjoins upon them. They are not ashamed to conceal sometimes, as though with a veil, certain fundamental maxims of the Gospel, for fear lest

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<sup>28</sup> John x. 11.

<sup>29</sup> Hebr. xiii. 8.

otherwise the people refuse to hear and follow them. It will certainly be the part of prudence to proceed gradually in laying down the truth, when one has to do with men completely strangers to us and completely separated from God. "Before using the steel, let the wounds be felt with a light hand,"<sup>30</sup> as Gregory said. But even this carefulness would sink to mere prudence of the flesh, were it proposed as the rule of constant and everyday action—all the more since such a method would seem not to hold in due account that Divine Grace which sustains the sacerdotal ministry and which is given not only to those who exercise this ministry, but to all the faithful of Christ in order that our words and our action may find an entrance into their heart. Gregory did not at all understand this prudence, either in the preaching of the Gospel, or in the many wonderful works undertaken by him to relieve misery. He did constantly what the Apostles had done, for they, when they went out for the first time into the world to bring into it the name of Christ, repeated the saying: "We preach Christ crucified, a scandal for the Jews, a folly for the Gentiles."<sup>31</sup> If ever there was a time in which human prudence seemed to offer the only expedient for obtaining something in a world altogether unprepared to receive doctrines so new, so repugnant to human passions, so opposed to the civilization, then at its most flourishing period, of the Greeks and the Romans, that time was certainly the epoch of the preaching of the faith. But the Apostles disdained such prudence, because they understood well the precept of God: "It pleased God by the foolishness of our preaching

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<sup>30</sup> *Registr.* v. 44 (18) ad Joannem episcop.

<sup>31</sup> 1 Cor. i. 23.

to save them that believe."<sup>32</sup> And as it ever was, so it is to-day, this foolishness "to them that are saved, that is, to us, is the power of God."<sup>33</sup> The scandal of the Crucified will ever furnish us in the future, as it has done in the past, with the most potent of all weapons; now as of yore in that sign we shall find victory.

But, Venerable Brethren, this weapon will lose much of its efficacy or be altogether useless in the hands of men not accustomed to the interior life with Christ, not educated in the school of true and solid piety, not thoroughly inflamed with zeal for the glory of God and for the propagation of His kingdom. So keenly did Gregory feel this necessity that he used the greatest care in creating bishops and priests animated by a great desire for the divine glory and for the true welfare of souls. And this was the intent he had before him in his book on the *Pastoral Rule*, wherein are gathered together the laws regulating the formation of the clergy and the government of bishops—laws most suitable not for his times only but for our own. Like an "Argus full of light," says his biographer, "he moved all round the eyes of his pastoral solicitude through all the extent of the world,"<sup>34</sup> to discover and correct the failings and the negligence of the clergy. Nay, he trembled at the very thought that barbarism and immorality might obtain a footing in the life of the clergy, and he was deeply moved and gave himself no peace whenever he learned of some infraction of the disciplinary laws of the Church, and immediately administered admonition and correction, threatening canonical penalties on transgressors, sometimes imme-

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<sup>32</sup> 1 Cor. i. 21.

<sup>33</sup> 1 Cor. i. 18.

<sup>34</sup> Joann. Diac., lib. ii. c. 55.

diately applying these penalties himself, and again removing the unworthy from their offices without delay and without human respect.

Moreover, he inculcated the maxims which we frequently find in his writings in such form as this: "In what frame of mind does one enter upon the office of mediator between God and man who is not conscious of being familiar with grace through a meritorious life?"<sup>35</sup> "If passion lives in his actions, with what presumption does he hasten to cure the wound, when he wears a scar on his very face?"<sup>36</sup> What fruit can be expected for the salvation of souls if the apostles "combat in their lives what they preach in their words?"<sup>37</sup> "Truly he cannot remove the delinquencies of others who is himself ravaged by the same."<sup>38</sup>

The picture of the true priest, as Gregory understands and describes him, is the man "who, dying to all passions of the flesh, already lives spiritually; who has no thought for the prosperity of the world; who has no fear of adversity; who desires only internal things; who does not permit himself to desire what belongs to others but is liberal of his own; who is all bowels of compassion and inclines to forgiveness, but in forgiveness never swerves unduly from the perfection of righteousness; who never commits unlawful actions, but deploras as though they were his own the unlawful actions of others; who with all affection of the heart compassionates the weakness of others, and rejoices in the prosperity of his neighbor as in his own profit; who in all his doings so renders himself a model for others as to have nothing whereof to be

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<sup>35</sup> *Reg. Past.* i. 10.

<sup>36</sup> *Reg. Past.* i. 9.

<sup>37</sup> *Reg. Past.* i. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Reg. Past.* i. 11.

ashamed, at least, as regards his external actions; who studies so to live that he may be able to water the parched hearts of his neighbors with the waters of doctrine; who knows through the use of prayer and through his own experience that he can obtain from the Lord what he asks."<sup>39</sup>

How much thought, therefore, Venerable Brethren, must the Bishop seriously take with himself and in the presence of God before laying hands on young levites! "Let him never dare, either as an act of favor to anybody or in response to petitions made to him, to promote any one to sacred orders whose life and actions do not furnish a guarantee of worthiness."<sup>40</sup> With what deliberation should he reflect before entrusting the work of the apostolate to newly ordained priests! If they be not duly tried under the vigilant guardianship of more prudent priests, if there be not abundant evidence of their morality, of their inclination for spiritual exercises, of their prompt obedience to all the forms of action which are suggested by the ecclesiastical custom or proved by long experience, or imposed by those whom "the Holy Ghost has placed as bishops to rule the Church of God,"<sup>41</sup> they will exercise the sacerdotal ministry not for the salvation but for the ruin of the Christian people. For they will provoke discord, and excite rebellion, more or less tacit, thus offering to the world the sad spectacle of something like division amongst us, whereas in truth these deplorable incidents are but the pride and the unruliness of a few. Oh! let those who stir up discord be altogether removed from office. Of such apostles the

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<sup>39</sup>*Reg. Past.* i. 10.

<sup>40</sup>*Registr.* v. 36 (58 ad universos episcopos per Hellad).

<sup>41</sup>Acts xx. 28.

Church has no need ; they are not apostles of Jesus Christ Crucified but of themselves.

We seem to see still present before Our eyes the Holy Pontiff Gregory at the Lateran Council, surrounded by a great number of bishops from all parts of the world. Oh, how fruitful is the exhortation that falls from his lips on the duties of the clergy ! How his heart is consumed with zeal ! His words are as lightnings rending the perverse, as scourges striking the indolent, as flames of divine love gently enfolding the most fervent. Read that wonderful homily of Gregory, Venerable Brethren, and have it read and meditated by your clergy, especially during the annual retreat."<sup>42</sup>

Among other things, with unspeakable sorrow he exclaims : "Lo, the world is full of priests, but rare indeed it is to find a worker in the hands of God ; we do indeed assume the priestly office, but the obligation of the office we do not fulfil."<sup>43</sup> What force the Church would have to-day could she count a worker in every priest ! What abundant fruit would the supernatural life of the Church produce in souls were it efficaciously promoted by all. Gregory succeeded in his own times in strenuously stimulating this spirit of energetic action, and such was the impulse given by him that the same spirit was kept alive during the succeeding ages. The whole mediæval period bears what may be called the Gregorian imprint ; almost everything it had indeed came to it from the Pontiff—the rules of ecclesiastical government, the manifold phases of charity and philanthropy in its social institutions, the principles of the most perfect Christian asceticism and of monastic life, the arrangement of the liturgy and the art of sacred music.

<sup>42</sup>Hom. in Evang. i. 17.

<sup>43</sup>Hom. in Evang. n. 3.



The times are indeed greatly changed. But, as We have more than once repeated, nothing is changed in the life of the Church. From her Divine Founder she has inherited the virtue of being able to supply at all times, however much they may differ, all that is required not only for the spiritual welfare of souls, which is the direct object of her mission, but also everything that aids progress in true civilization, for this follows as a natural consequence of that same mission.

For it cannot be but that the truths of the supernatural order, of which the Church is the depository, promote also everything that is true, good and beautiful in the order of nature, and this the more efficaciously in proportion as these truths are traced to the supreme principle of all truth, goodness and beauty, which is God.

Human science gains greatly from revelation, for the latter opens out new horizons and makes known sooner other truths of the natural order, and because it opens the true road to investigation and keeps it safe from errors of application and of method. Thus does the lighthouse show many things they otherwise would not see, while it points out the rocks on which the vessel would suffer shipwreck.

And since, for our moral discipline, the Divine Redeemer proposes as our supreme model of perfection His heavenly Father,<sup>44</sup> that is, the Divine Goodness itself, who can fail to see the mighty impulse thence accruing to the ever more perfect observance of the natural law inscribed in our hearts, and consequently to the greater welfare of the individual, the family, and universal society? The ferocity of the barbarians was thus

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<sup>44</sup> Matthew v. 48.

transformed into gentleness, woman was freed from subjection, slavery was repressed, order was restored in the due and reciprocal dependence upon one another of the various classes of society, justice was recognized, the true liberty of souls was proclaimed, and social and domestic peace assured.

Finally, the arts, modelled on the supreme exemplar of all beauty which is God Himself, from whom is derived all the beauty to be found in nature, are more securely withdrawn from vulgar concepts and more efficaciously rise towards the ideal, which is the life of all art. And how fruitful of good has been the principle of employing them in the service of divine worship and of offering to the Lord everything that is deemed to be worthy of Him, by reason of its richness, its goodness, its elegance of form. This principle has created sacred art, which became and still continues to be the foundation of all profane art. We have recently touched upon this in a special *Motu Proprio*, when speaking of the restoration of the Roman Chant according to the ancient tradition and of sacred music. And the same rules are applicable to the other arts, each in its own sphere, so that what has been said of the chant may also be said of painting, sculpture, architecture; and towards all these most noble creations of genius the Church has been lavish of inspiration and encouragement. The whole human race, fed on this sublime ideal, raises magnificent temples, and here in the House of God, as in its own house, lifts up its heart to heavenly things in the midst of the treasures of all beautiful art, with the majesty of liturgical ceremony, and to the accompaniment of the sweetest of song.

All these benefits, We repeat, the action of the Pontiff

St. Gregory succeeded in attaining in his own time and in the centuries that followed; and these, too, it will be possible to attain to-day, by virtue of the intrinsic efficacy of the principles which should guide us and of the means we have at our disposal, while preserving with all zeal the good which by the grace of God is still left us and "restoring in Christ"<sup>45</sup> all that has unfortunately lapsed from the right rule.

We are glad to be able to close these Our Letters with the very words with which St. Gregory concluded his memorable exhortation in the Lateran Council: "These things, Brethren, you should meditate with all solicitude yourselves and at the same time propose for the meditation of your neighbour. Prepare to restore to God the fruit of the ministry you have received. But everything we have indicated for you we shall obtain much better by prayer than by our discourse. Let us pray: O God, by whose will we have been called as pastors among the people, grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be enabled to be in Thy sight what we are said to be by the mouths of men."<sup>46</sup>

And while by the intercession of the holy Pontiff Gregory We trust that God may graciously hear Our prayer, We impart to all of you, Venerable Brethren, and to your clergy and people the Apostolic benediction with all the affection of Our heart, as a pledge of heavenly favors and in token of Our paternal good-will.

Given at Rome at St. Peter's on March 12, of the year 1904, on the feast of St. Gregory I. Pope and Doctor of the Church, in the first year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

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<sup>45</sup> *Ephes.* i. 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Hom. cit.*, ii. 18.



# The Religious Crisis in France



WHEN, last year, the *National Review* did me the honor to invite me to write an article on the subject of the religious crisis which agitates France, I was, to my great regret, unable to give an immediate assent to its kind request. I now, after an interval of several months, propose to discharge the debt which I then contracted; and though, perhaps, I owe an apology to the *Review* and to its readers for my long delay, I have, nevertheless, certain reasons for congratulating myself on my procrastination. The political situation in France is now, so far as the religious struggle is concerned, far more sharply defined than it then was. The march of events, which could have been foreseen a year ago by any one who was in a position to follow closely the natural development of affairs, enables me to-day to substitute arguments based on actual facts for the conjectures which I should then have had to make in order to make myself intelligible to the English public. After stating what those events are, I shall attempt to demonstrate their logical connection, to examine their cause from the point of view of history and philosophy, and to discover what their probable consequences will be. I shall hope thereby to establish the fact that the struggle which is maintained in this country by the Catholics, with the support of the truly liberal section of the intellectual community, far transcends the bounds of a purely political conflict, and deserves the sympathetic attention of

all foreigners who take an interest in the future of Christianity.

I do not deceive myself as to the difficulties attendant on the task which I have undertaken, for I know how different are the mental attitude, the manners and customs, and the intellectual habits of England and France, which, though they have become so familiar with each other, owing to their geographical position and the relations produced by continual contact, are yet so widely sundered by their character, their historical development, and their social conceptions. I hope I shall not offend the readers of the *National Review* by saying that ignorance, more especially of the conditions in which the religious life of the two nations develops itself, is as great on one side of the Channel as on the other; and that many Englishmen, even among those who are animated by the most sincere Christian spirit, and perhaps even Catholic Englishmen, have failed to understand the character of the struggles to which, in the last few years, that development has given rise. That inability to accurately appreciate the position is, in my opinion, the outcome not only of the erroneous view of certain facts which is entertained by the Press, but springs from a remoter and deeper source: namely, from insufficient study (which need not surprise us in the case of Englishmen, inasmuch as very many Frenchmen are in the same boat,) of that event, so great and so complex both as regards its causes and its effects, which, from the point of view of philosophy and social science, dominates the whole of our history: I mean the Revolution of 1789. In the course of this article I shall more than once have occasion to insist on the fact of that domination, for in my view it lies at the very root of the question under con-

sideration and alone can make clear the meaning of what is happening and threatens to happen in the religious world of France. For the sake of clearness I must begin with a statement of the facts which have given rise to such a commotion in our midst.

## I.

It is in this connection that the delay of which I have unintentionally been guilty has been actually advantageous: the facts can now be more clearly stated. Last year, at the time when this *Review* asked for my assistance, two particularly striking events had attracted its attention and that of the English public in general. One was the recent passing of an Act dealing with associations which had been introduced and championed in both Chambers by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the President of the Council, whereby the religious Congregations were removed from the operation of the general law, and were subjected to special treatment; the other was the outburst of an excessively lively spirit of resistance, provoked by an abusive interpretation of that Act, and which, more especially in the Breton Departments, where religious faith is still an extremely active force, went so far as to give rise to violent conflicts with the authorities and with the armed forces which were summoned to assist them. I will examine each of these events in turn, and then will proceed to show how far more serious for the Catholics the situation has now become.

The mere fact that a law dealing with associations was a necessity in France suffices to prove the existence of a state of affairs which is peculiar to my country, and is calculated to surprise many of those who, like the Eng-

lish, are accustomed to the various features of corporate life. At the very outset the influence of the French Revolution shows itself. Its chief social characteristic manifested itself in the establishment of the principle of individualism, and by the violent destruction of all organized bodies of spontaneous growth; and the religious associations, which are nowadays designated by the name of "Congregations," had less chance than any of escaping the results of that sweeping measure, for the reason that in the minds of the first members of the Constituent Assembly the feelings awakened by the philosophical doctrines of the eighteenth century allied themselves to the general mad passion for universal levelling.

All associations were abolished by the Revolution, and a few years later, when the reorganization of the new France was effected, the penal code gave the final sanction to the individualistic *régime* by a clause which prohibited all meetings of more than twenty persons. Corporate life, which for centuries had been as powerful and as productive in France as in the neighboring countries, was thus destroyed; and therewith disappeared the Province with its distinctive characteristics, the Commune with its franchises, and the trade guild with its special organization. Those institutions were forms of corporate existence in its political aspect, just as the monastic association was its religious manifestation. I say that it was destroyed, but I ought to say that it was left in a state of suspended animation, for it is not in the power of man to abolish forever the effects of a natural right and of one of the inherent needs of humanity. Events soon proved the truth of this statement. The religious associations, for the reason that they answer to the requirements of certain characteristics of the Christian soul, in which faith



lights the mystic flame of a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion, were the first to reappear, even before the revolutionary storm had completely lulled; and soon, by degrees, as the work of reconstituting the social edifice proceeded, the necessity of providing for the requirements of the homeless poor and for popular education, which had become almost entirely disorganized, induced the newly constituted authorities to seek their aid. To do so was one of the earliest acts of the First Consul. It is true that the laws which dissolved the associations were not formally abrogated: they merely became a dead letter, purely by reason of the moral and political circumstances of the age; and nowhere is it better understood than in England, where so many ancient statutes exist and nominally have the force of law, but in reality have ceased to exert the slightest influence, that desuetude may be tantamount to abrogation.

But how did it come to pass that in the new society, the product of the Revolution, these moral forces came so promptly to the assistance of the religious associations? Under the old *régime*, in which the Catholic Church and the Monarchy were so closely allied, politics and religion were intimately connected with each other. The King gave effect to the laws of the Church in his character of lay bishop, as the saying was, and monastic life, as everything else, was under his control. The ecclesiastic, bound by his vows as regards both spiritual and temporal matters, suffered a form of disfranchisement which was almost equivalent to civil death; consequently, he was not a citizen in the sense in which others were citizens. The mighty blast of liberty, which swept away those institutions of a past age which had been undermined by long existing abuses and by the influence of

the new doctrines, were bound to destroy the old conception of the religious life. The civil constitution of the monastic orders collapsed at the same time as all the other institutions of the old *régime*. In the eyes of the new society the members of religious bodies were simply citizens, subject, like others, to the general law and, consequently, endowed with the rights and the liberties which belonged to all other members of the community. It is perfectly clear that one of those rights is the right to live with others and to pray with others, to accept certain rules which merely bind the conscience without involving any civil consequences. This implies the right to worship and the right to teach, both of which are directly derived from liberty of conscience.

Such is the position of the religious orders in the French society which sprang from the Revolution of 1789; and I do not think that any Englishman will find therein anything contrary to the interests of the community. I will return to this point later on when I come to examine the arguments with which the enemies of the religious Congregations attempt to justify the prescriptive measures of which those bodies have been made the victim.

But before I proceed further I must conclude the brief historical retrospect which is absolutely essential to a clear comprehension of the subject. As I have already remarked, the religious Congregations were not the only victims of the individualistic doctrines proclaimed by the Constituent Assembly of 1789. At the same time, and under the influence of the same ideas, the ancient structure of the provincial and communal organization, which had been gradually undermined by the centralizing monarchical government, began to make room for a new ad-

ministrative system, under which the State exercised control over all the elements of national activity. At the same time also the corporations of artisans, the nature of which had been only too completely altered by the interfering action of the royal power, lost their ancient influence by reason of the introduction of a system of control conceived solely in the interest of the Crown, and were utterly suppressed; the working classes being deprived even of the liberty of meeting and taking steps to protect their common interests, the legitimacy of which the State refused to recognize. This was so entirely contrary to the ordinary natural rights of humanity that, just as in the case of the laws which violated the liberty of conscience, it was inevitable that the necessities of social life should ultimately have their revenge. But whereas the spontaneous energy of religious faith and the pressing demands of charitable and educational needs soon sufficed to resuscitate the religious associations, in the economic world the revival came but slowly, from the reason that it was hampered by the existence of an unending state of war, by the resistance of successive governments in whom it produced an uneasy feeling, and by the opposition of the industrial magnates whose interests it threatened. The revival came nevertheless, and proceeded to develop an ever-increasing vigor as and when the struggles to which the organization of labor gave rise rendered such development necessary. I shall not dwell upon the history of these social movements with which England has been made familiar by the rise of trade unions. To do so would be to go beyond the bounds of my present subject. All that it is necessary to establish is the fact that, by virtue of the inherent strength of the natural rights of mankind, the freedom of economic

association again became a recognized institution and vindicated its rights before the legislature. It was for the first time tentatively recognized by a law passed in 1864, and received its definitive legal sanction in 1884. All other civil associations were still for a long time forbidden, and it was only in 1901 that the general freedom of association was partially established and organized by law. I say partially, for here we touch the kernel of the question, and the law, which might have been a charter of liberties for all citizens without distinction, was in reality a proscriptive enactment directed against a whole section of the community; so much so that it can far more fairly be described as a law directed against the Congregations than as a law dealing with the right of association. What was the reason, and how did it come about, that the recognized right of all citizens was refused to the religious orders? It will be my task to try to supply the answer to this question.

## II.

For the sake of clearness I must begin by explaining to my readers the legal position occupied by the Congregations three years ago when the new law was introduced. The Legislative Assemblies at the time of the Revolution, carried away by their hatred of Catholicism, which was made manifest at the very outset of their labors and subsequently led to the commission of so many excesses, did not limit themselves to the abolition, as a natural result of the new principles, of the civil consequences of the vows pronounced by the religious orders. They first suppressed the monastic orders and then abol-

ished all Congregations, not even excepting those the members of which were not bound by any perpetual vow and did not belong to the ecclesiastical profession. It is unnecessary for me to recall the sanguinary persecutions which accompanied these proscriptive edicts: the recollection of them is fresh in the memory of all, and England, who gave generous hospitality to so many poor fugitive priests, will certainly not have forgotten them. But in spite of it all, the imperious call of the Faith, and the irresistible attraction possessed by the most sacred of rights, soon brought about the resuscitation of some of the proscribed Congregations, and that too in the very centre of persecution. I have pointed out how, as soon as the social reorganization of the country took place under the guidance of Bonaparte, the sovereign authority hastened to have recourse to their assistance in order to provide for the care of the sick and for the education of the children of the poor. Both these influences gained in intensity under the various forms of government which followed during the course of the nineteenth century, with the result that, as the needs of modern society made unceasing demands for fresh forms of self-sacrificing devotion, the Congregations, both male and female, continued to multiply. In some cases they attached themselves to institutions which existed under the old *régime*; in others they formed entirely new bodies; but in every case they consecrated themselves to devotional exercises, to almsgiving, to charity, to education, and to the work of healing: a large number devoting their zealous activities to distant mission-fields in the French colonies and in those of other countries where their services were readily and gratefully accepted. Nothing is more creditable to humanity, noth-

ing proves more clearly the vital energy of religious faith, than that fruitful harvest of admirable work which was reaped on a soil which so recently had been devastated by such a frightful storm. It has often been pretended in the French Chambers and in the Press that these manifestations of energy were enabled to take place only in consequence of a mistaken spirit of toleration, inasmuch as the Concordat, which was signed in 1801 by Pope Pius VII and the First Consul, forbade the reconstitution of the Congregations which had been dissolved by the Revolution, by the very fact that it did not expressly contemplate such reconstruction. But that is a gross error and a deliberate misreading of the documents. As a matter of fact the first article of the Concordat of 1801 specifically states that "the Catholic religion shall be *freely* exercised in France." Now the liberty of the Catholic Church is complete and whole only if it can, free and untrammelled, fulfil its mission in its entirety, and if it is, as a necessary consequence, supplied with all the organs which it requires in order to be able to do its work. Any other conception of liberty would amount to a complete negation of its existence; for the fundamental condition of liberty is freedom to make use of that liberty. If it is the fact that the existence of the religious orders is not an essential feature of Christianity, it is, at all events as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, a natural product of its teachings and a necessary factor in its organization; and this was so ever since the earliest centuries of the Christian era. I hope I shall have no great difficulty in making even my Protestant readers understand the object and the legitimate nature of those orders when I try to reply to the accusations levelled against them by their enemies in France. Look-

ing at the question solely from the point of view of liberty, I say that the Catholic Church is obviously a better judge than its adversaries as to what factors constitute the sum-total of its essential properties. The celebrated Portalis expressed this fact very neatly in the speech which he made in the Legislative Assembly when he presented the new Concordat in the name of the First Consul. "When a new religion is sanctioned or an old one is maintained, the control which is exercised over it must be in accordance with the principles of that religion. The wish that is manifested and the power which it is desired to claim to arbitrarily improve religious ideas and institutions constitute a pretension which is contrary to the very nature of things."

Those words have an honest ring which proves that they were spoken in good faith. At the very moment when the discussion of the question of the Congregations was begun in France, Pope Leo XIII. affirmed in an important document not only his affection for those institutions, but also the reasons, founded on principles and on facts, which both justify their existence and make it an essential condition of the free exercise of the Catholic religion. After that I think the question ought to be regarded as settled. Let me add that England—and it redounds greatly to the honor of that home of liberty—never dreamed of curtailing the privileges of the Catholic Church by means of restrictive laws affecting religious associations, since the day when religious quarrels were finally dropped and the Catholic Church was emancipated from the heavy fetters with which the old laws had bound her. This is the first and most important observation evoked by pretensions based on the silence of the Concordat of 1801 which is used as a weapon against the religious orders.

There is another argument in favor of those orders, deducible from the terms of the documents containing the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Concordat. Those documents have formed the subject-matter of a most instructive publication by Count Boulay de la Meurthe. Now it is no doubt true and only natural that the Holy See wished that express mention of the re-establishment of the religious orders should be made in the Concordat, and it is equally true that the First Consul refused his assent; but the terms in which that refusal was couched indicate its true meaning. At the last conference of the plenipotentiaries it was expressly declared that the re-establishment of the religious orders should do no more than form the subject-matter of an encyclical, should the Sovereign Pontiff deem it advisable to issue one. It follows, therefore, that the desire of the head of the French Government was to establish the principle that henceforward the Congregations were to be looked upon as purely religious institutions, deriving their existence from the authorization of the Holy See, and receiving no civil sanction at the hands of the general law. As a matter of fact, if one wished to insist on the letter as well as on the spirit of our Concordat, one could logically deduce therefrom the complete liberty of the Congregations, rather than the necessity of an administrative authorization which is far less in conformity with the principles of modern society than with the spirit of the royal ordinances of the old *régime*.

Further, if the Concordat bears the meaning which some assign to it, how was it that the Government of the First Consul, as well as all succeeding Governments, immediately recognized the existence of such a large number of Congregations? Yet that was what happened; several



male orders and a very large number of female institutions received prompt recognition. This fact leads me on to define and explain the position occupied by the Congregations in the last century in the eye of the law. Such an explanation is very necessary, as one of the chief complaints made against the majority of those institutions was that they were in a state of rebellion against the law. I have reason to fear that this calumny, which has been frequently repeated in the French Press and which has lead and still continues to lead so many of my countrymen astray, has been propagated in neighboring countries also, and has deceived men of good faith as to the true position of affairs. After 1789, though the old *régime* was abolished in principle and in fact, succeeding Governments, as was natural in the case of a country where traditions of extreme antiquity possessed a powerful influence, continued to be imbued to a very great extent with the spirit, the methods and the mental attitude, if I may use that term, of the ancient monarchy, more especially with respect to all that concerned the exercise of the royal prerogative. It is a remarkable thing, or appears to be so at first sight if one forgets the extent to which people are unconsciously influenced by the form of the intellectual inheritance bequeathed by their predecessors, that the French Republic, though it was founded more than thirty years ago, and was the product of a reaction against former monarchical forms of government in general and the Napoleonic tradition in particular, should, nevertheless, have continued to be thoroughly imbued with those very forms. Throughout the present religious crisis it has been clear, as I shall prove hereafter, that the fundamental idea which animates our adversaries as well as their ultimate aim was, so to speak,

inherited from the legislators of the revolutionary period, just as the doctrines which they invoke, and the conceptions of government to which they give their allegiance, closely resemble those entertained by Napoleon, and are, in consequence, in spite of appearances, practically identical with the principles of absolute monarchy. The Jacobins of the first Republic are primarily responsible for this confusion of ideas in that, under the influence of the teachings of J. J. Rousseau, they transferred to a collective body, to the people, the attributes, moral and intellectual as well as political, of supreme sovereignty. The mental attitude of the parliamentary majorities of the third Republic is the same as that of the Jacobins. Napoleon wished to be the embodiment of both the old and the new order, and all the institutions with which he endowed France bear the marks of that besetting aspiration. The monarchical Governments which succeeded him wrought no change in the social organization which his powerful hand had fashioned. When Louis XVIII. was called to the throne, Napoleon remarked, "My bed is a good one, he has only got to change the sheets and lie down;" and this observation was equally applicable to the Restoration, to the subsequent Government of July, and to all succeeding Governments down to and including the present one. From the administrative point of view we are still in Napoleon's bed. Mr. J. E. C. Bodley has made the same remark in his excellent book on France, which has had many readers in England, viz., that no matter what the form of government may be, republican or monarchical, autocratic or parliamentary, the civic life of the nation is always regulated by the lasting and forceful mechanism of the Napoleonic machine.

In spite, however, of this fidelity to tradition, the great social transformation accomplished in 1789 has lost none of its effects. Though the wielders of supreme power still maintain the pretensions and the theories pertaining to the monarchical Government of the old *régime*, the manners and customs and the conceptions which are the product of the Revolution tend more and more to develop the feeling for liberty and the need of it. This twofold influence, which manifests itself in every department of public national life, produced from the very inception of the new society an exceptional state of affairs as regards the position of the religious Congregations. They preserved the character, imposed upon them by the Revolutions, of associations of ordinary citizens whose private obligations are ignored by the civil Government; but in the eye of the law they could have no collective existence save by virtue of the *authorization* of the supreme power. Such associations as were *recognized* by the Government became legally existent entities; in their collective capacity they were enabled to acquire, to possess, and to alienate property, and to receive donations and legacies. Those that were not invested with that authorization remained mere associations of citizens, whose collective members constituted, as far as the rights of ownership were concerned, limited companies, for the regulation of which the law provides. Many merely rented the houses, whether schools or hospitals, which provided the field for their activity, from societies composed exclusively of lay members. These "unauthorized" Congregations were, as a matter of fact, just as lawful as those from which they were thus nominally distinguished. The sole difference was that the latter had a personal civil existence in the eye of the law with all

its consequent advantages and liabilities, while the former neither enjoyed these advantages nor were subject to these liabilities. This state of affairs was sanctioned by all forms of government at all periods, and in the absence of any law defining and regulating the liberty of association its existence was looked upon as the actual justification for the reappearance of the Congregations and their development in the light of day during the whole course of the century. Short of actual abrogation, no clearer proof of the fact that the revolutionary laws had fallen into desuetude could be found. Consequently, in spite of any misapprehension to which a deceptive misdescription may give rise, no possible justification can exist for considering the so-called unauthorized Congregations as being in a state of revolt against the laws of the country; and the truth of this statement is proved by the fact that under every form of government the various State departments made formal arrangements with them, at one time with reference to the colonies, at another in connection with charitable undertakings and prison administration. Thus the first accusation levelled against the Congregations falls to the ground.

There is another accusation which has been spread broadcast by the Press, and which I will at once clear out of the way. An attempt has been made to persuade the people that the associations do not pay taxes like the rest of the community. This allegation cannot be maintained, and any one who is in the least degree acquainted with French legislation is aware that it is mere calumny. The authorized Congregations, in the same way as other civil communities, pay the so-called "mortmain tax," to which the property of all analogous associations is subject, and which has the effect of preventing the accumulation of

property in the hands of persons whose corporate existence never ceases and whose possessions consequently never become liable to the payment of succession duty. The unauthorized Congregations paid all the direct taxes payable by private citizens and, in addition thereto, a special tax to which they were subjected about twenty years ago in their character of religious associations. It is unnecessary to go further into the details of this fiscal question; these few words have sufficed to prove that the members of the Congregations were neither privileged persons from the point of view of taxation, nor rebels against the general law.

But I should not have exhausted this aspect of the question if I omitted to say a word on the subject of the wealth of the Congregations; for that was one of the chief instruments employed in the attempt to rouse popular passions which are always easily awakened in a democratic society by arguments based on the antagonism of poverty and riches. M. Waldeck-Rousseau, President of the Council of Ministers, gave vent in a public speech, the echo of which reached far and wide, to the assertion that the value of the real property belonging to the Congregations amounted to a milliard of francs, and drew the conclusion, which afterwards served as the theme of the most violent attacks on the religious orders, that the immensity of that property, which he styled "the Congregational mortmain," constituted a serious economic danger to the nation. No accusation could be fraught with greater danger to its object or to the cause of the Catholic Church which is confounded with that of the Congregations; and none, by reason of its falsity and its perfidiousness, could be more unworthy of the head of a Government.

There is a great deal of so-called "mortmain" real property in France— *i.e.*, property belonging to a body with a continuous existence; the departments, the communes, and the hospitals, for example, hold a very considerable amount, far more considerable in fact, than that possessed by the Congregations. This is proved by the simple fact, which is established by official statistics, that the real property belonging to the Communes alone represents an area of 4,510,000 hectares; whereas that of all types of Congregations taken together hardly extends to 48,000! As for the figure of a milliard, the Government tried to prove the correctness of the estimate by means of a Government inquiry, which was conducted, I may mention, in such a way that it was absolutely impossible to verify its conclusions. In any case, judging from such figures as the Commission produced, it is impossible, with good faith, to arrive at a total of more than 435,000,000 francs as representing the value of the real property owned by the Congregations; and, as a matter of fact, that is the figure adopted by those responsible for the Budget. So much for the only too notorious "milliard of the Congregations." But apart from the question of figures, how is it possible at the present day, and in the present state of the world in general, to maintain that collective ownership constitutes a public danger? The great feature of the economic development of the nineteenth century was the creation of collective enterprises. Every kind of industrial and commercial undertaking tends to take that form; every kind of social, charitable, and philanthropic activity tends more and more to have recourse to the establishment of permanent societies. How is it possible for the principle of association, which has been encouraged everywhere to such an extent

by the public authorities in particular and by the manners and customs of modern humanity in general, to constitute a public danger, more especially in the case of charitable institutions or religious schools, for the establishment of which the greater part of the real property owned by the Congregations was intended to be utilized? M. Léon Say, whose name has been rendered famous in England as well as elsewhere by his numerous works on economic and financial subjects, and who occupied one of the most important ministerial offices in the Republic, wrote ten years ago "Possibly the clerical 'mortmain' will hereafter become a trifling matter in comparison with that of lay society." All careful minds appreciate the truth of this remark. The reaction against the individualistic doctrines of the eighteenth century is universal; the principle of association, of organized co-operation and collective enterprise invades, in every country, the fields in which the most varied types of national activity are exercised. Workmen's associations, more particularly, daily increase in number, in strength, and in influence; and by degrees, as and when their right to acquire property is more freely recognized, as must inevitably be the case, the "mortmain" of the working classes will attain more considerable proportions and will exercise an influence of incalculable magnitude on the economic destiny of nations. How, then, can it be pretended in good faith that the existence of real property to the value of a few hundred million francs in the hands of a few thousand monks or humble nuns is becoming a public danger?

It would be difficult to abuse the public credulity in a more cruel manner, and the bait was rendered all the more alluring and deceptive by the fact that the people

were induced to hope that the proposed confiscation and sale of the possessions which were denounced and thus made the object of popular cupidity would be utilized to the common profit—for that was M. Waldeck-Rousseau's view—for the establishment of a pension fund for the benefit of the working classes. The very fact that nearly all the real property belonging to the Congregations was not of a revenue-producing character, but comprised establishments arranged with a view to special objects, such as the education of children or the care of the sick, and consisted of colleges, hospitals and orphan asylums, made it perfectly obvious that it was of comparatively little value for selling purposes, and that it would be extremely difficult to find a purchaser. Such, however, were the sophistries and such were the calumnies on which the entire campaign directed against the Congregations was based.

### III.

In order to maintain the campaign in Parliament and to convince the thinking public of its justice, other and more serious considerations had to be discovered. I will make a brief reference to them, but before doing so I must say a word as to the circumstances which gave rise to the attacks directed against the religious orders, and which seemed to explain the passing of the proscriptive laws of which they were the object. I believe that those particular circumstances produced, thanks to the intense activity of the Press, an exceptionally strong impression on the minds of foreigners in general and of Englishmen in particular. I speak of the unfortunate Dreyfus affair, which so profoundly stirred the passions



of mankind and was, in France, the cause of such lamentable estrangements.

When at the close of 1899 M. Waldeck-Rousseau introduced the bill which nominally dealt with Associations in general, but which was in reality particularly directed against the Congregations, he justified it not only by presenting the clerical "mortmain," of which I have spoken, in the light of an economic danger, but also by pointing to the national peril involved by the education of a section of the youth of the nation in colleges directed by members of the Congregations. It was of this argument that the Press, the orators, and the writers belonging to the Ministerial party made the most persistent use. It was directed more especially against the Jesuits, whose colleges and preparatory schools were in a flourishing condition prior to the passing of the new laws. A relatively large number of officers came from those establishments, and, naturally, all of them were animated by Christian sentiments, the fruit of their home education rather than of the special character impressed upon them by school influences. The campaign initiated at the end of 1897 in favor of Dreyfus attained in 1898 and 1899 its maximum of intensity, and was deliberately—this was both obvious and instructive—mixed up with and made part of the campaign against the Congregationalist colleges. It was affirmed and re-affirmed, it was printed in all the newspapers of Europe, that the Jesuits, a generic name under which all the Congregations were lumped together, had their hand upon the French army, and that the Dreyfus affair was the outward and visible sign of their teaching.

This twofold accusation is familiar to my readers, for it filled the columns of the English Press during all those

years of heated polemics. I have no intention of reviving old discussions or of touching on the essential features of an affair the mention of which is, in spite of the efforts of a few individuals, intolerable to all Frenchmen, whether they be partisans of the condemned man or convinced of his guilt. I will keep my reply to that accusation strictly within the limits imposed by the subject of this article, and will use only the facts for arguments; more especially as I have, since 1899, treated the same question at greater length in two documents with which a good many Englishmen are acquainted, viz., in a communication addressed to the Editor of the *Times*, and in a letter written in answer to one received from Lord Russell of Killowen, in which he had taken the trouble to interrogate me on this very subject. If the Dreyfus affair was in fact, as some have pretended, the result of the practical application of the teaching of the Jesuits, their pupils must have been responsible for all that was done in 1894 and since that date, in connection with the arraignment, the trial, and the conviction of the accused man. If that is not proved, the whole argument falls to the ground. And how can it be proved? Not one of the generals or superior officers who were mixed up in the case, neither the Generals Mercier, Billot and Gonse, nor the Colonels du Paty de Clam and Henry, nor yet Major Esterhazy, came from Jesuit schools. General de Boisdeffre, who spent two years of his childhood in one of those institutions and completed his education in one of the State colleges, was the sole exception. Not one single pupil of the Jesuits was on his staff, and among the, roughly speaking, 1600 members of the general staff there were but nine or ten such pupils. Among the members of the Court Martial of 1894 there was not one, of

those who sat in 1899 there was only one who had been educated by the Jesuits, and he was generally supposed to have voted in favor of an acquittal. Of the sixty witnesses six were ex-pupils of the Jesuits, and three of them gave evidence in favor of the accused. These are the facts.

Among all the ecclesiastics who have been the object of calumny, one has been more atrociously maligned than the others, namely, the Reverend Father P. du Lac, who, after being more than twenty years ago Rector of the great preparatory school of the Jesuits, was for ten years, during which he was the Director of the French school at Canterbury, known, esteemed and respected by many Englishmen by no means the least important of their nation, and for the last ten years has dedicated himself exclusively to the work of preaching, and to labors among the working classes. I have had the honor of his friendship for thirty years, and entertain for him a feeling of the most respectful affection, and all his numerous acquaintances revere him as highly as I do. But in order to crystallize and give a concrete form to their generalities the enemies of the Jesuits required the name of a definite individual as a peg on which to hang their accusations. The fact that his name was well known, that he maintained relations with officers who had been his pupils, that he was in touch with politicians engaged, like myself, in party warfare, and above all his friendship for General de Boisdeffre, whom he had known in the dark days of the war of 1870, marked him out for martyrdom of a peculiarly cruel type. He was overwhelmed with insults, he was accused, and the entire Press repeated the tale, of having violated the secrecy of the confessional by denouncing to General de Pellieux one of his penitents

as being the "veiled lady" whose chimerical personality created such a stir during the trial. I was the comrade at the Ecole Militaire of General Pellieux, who died of grief occasioned by the terrible trials to which he was subjected in the course of that sad affair. I asked him if there was any possible, apparent justification for the accusation, and he told me, on his word of honor, that he had never seen the Rev. Father P. du Lac, or received any communication from him, either directly or indirectly. I published his declaration, but it was of no avail. I seize the present opportunity of repeating it, in order to avenge that saintly priest, who, being attacked in his ecclesiastical capacity, and his honor as a father-confessor being impugned, had no weapon but silence wherewith to confront his calumniators. That is the whole truth as to the share which the Jesuits took in the Dreyfus affair. I leave it without comment to the good faith and to the impartiality of my readers.

It is easy to understand what a baleful effect such a grievous calumny had on public opinion in the state of excitement into which, five years ago, all minds were thrown by that painful discussion. I have lingered over it on account of the echo which those passionate slanders found, to my knowledge, on the other side of the Channel. As a matter of fact, they were only one of the weapons which were employed to render the inattentive masses more susceptible to the influence of an accusation which served to mask the general attack directed against the Congregations. That accusation may be summed up in a single phrase: "The religious orders foment the spirit of political hostility to the Government."

In order to appreciate the full import of that accusation and the danger of it, one must know the effect which

such a phrase is capable of exercising in a country like ours, in which the principle of centralization is carried to excess, which is accustomed to bear the yoke imposed by Governmental authority, and is ignorant of the most elementary conditions of true liberty. All the traditions bequeathed by the Revolution reveal themselves the instant that phrase is pronounced. It sufficed a hundred years ago to put men beyond the pale of the law, and to drive the most innocent of victims to the scaffold. Though, nowadays, its effects are less sanguinary, its baleful influence has in no sense diminished. In the present case it had no justification whatever. The religious orders take no active organized part in politics. If, in fact, some of their members are not devoted and convinced partisans of the Republic, the majority respect it as being the established Government, and all agree in asking nothing from it except the right to exercise their religion in peace.

If I were not afraid of abusing the patience of my readers, it would be easy to prove the truth of this assertion by adducing numerous facts in its support. One solitary contemporary fact alone may seem to contradict it. A religious Congregation, that of the Assumptionists, had founded a popular journal, *La Croix*, which was very well conducted, which immediately obtained a great success, and, as might be expected, vigorously combated the anti-religious policy. It may be that its activity was ill-timed; but it is hard to see how the right of all citizens alike to make use of the freedom of the Press can be denied to a section of them, merely because it happens to consist of ecclesiastics. However, after the Dreyfus affair, the political attitude of the *Croix* supplied one of the favorite arguments used by the directors of the attack

on the religious orders in justification of their campaign. The insincerity of that argument has now been proved by the fact that to-day it is not merely the Jesuits and the Assumptionists who are proscribed, but an indiscriminate attack is made on all religious orders, whether male or female, even on the humblest teaching friars, on the most venerable Sisters of Charity, and they, at all events, in no way interfere in politics.

*(To be continued.)*

A. DE MUN.

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# The Religious Crisis in France



## IV.

THE doom of the religious orders was pronounced for other reasons which lie far deeper and are far more important. What they are I will proceed to indicate, now that I have brushed aside the vain and slanderous pretexts by which it was attempted to justify that condemnation.

The chief argument invoked against all religious orders indiscriminately by M. Waldeck-Rousseau and other enemies who took their cue from him, is, I fancy, of a nature calculated to surprise many Englishmen who are used to seeing such absolute respect paid to personal liberty. "By contracting certain engagements which bind your conscience, and by pronouncing the three vows of obedience, of poverty, and of chastity, you violate the civil law, which forbids the alienation of things which are not allowed to be dealt with, and you transgress the principles of modern society, even the general rules of humanity. By the vow of obedience you make yourselves slaves; by the vow of chastity you cease to be useful members of society; by the former you surrender your personality, and by the latter you break the moral law."

It is hard to imagine a more outrageous sophism. What? If men or women, influenced by the attractive force possessed by the conception of self-sacrifice and self-devotion, by the need of fulfilling the fundamental law of Christianity by an act of self-abnegation, and moved by a generous religious feeling, determine to renounce the pleasures, the ambitions, and the riches of

this world, in order to employ all the ardor of their soul in prayer or in charity, but in either case in the service of God and God alone, and choose to carry their act of renunciation so far as to include even the joys of family life, in order to devote themselves entirely to the life which they have embraced; and if, in order to complete the sacrifice, they voluntarily resign their will into the hands of a superior, to whom they give themselves up as to the representative of the Divine Master, is it to be said that those men and women have been guilty of an immoral act, and are thenceforward to be looked upon as unworthy members of society and as deserving of expulsion therefrom? Can those be called slaves who, by the very act of sacrificing their liberty, have made the most decisive use of that liberty?

I believe that all Protestant souls, however wide the gulf which sunders them from the doctrines, the feelings, and the practices of the Catholic Church, will be revolted by such an audacious proposition. During my visits to England I had the opportunity of coming too closely in contact with some such souls not to know with what fervor and what sincerity some of them aspire to a perfect imitation of Jesus Christ, and what an attractive influence the counsels and rules of conduct which are found in the New Testament have for them. Was it not that very aspiration which, now sixty years ago, moved the heart and the intelligence of Pusey when he expressed the wish that the Anglican Church also had its Sisters of Charity, and when he stood by the death-bed of his daughter Lucy and charged her to "pray, so soon as she should stand before the face of the Redeemer, for those institutions of which she herself had hoped to become a member?" Is it not from the little seed planted at that



period that the numerous convents have sprung which have enriched the Established Church by their existence?

In any case, without insisting any further on what is necessarily a delicate subject when a Catholic is discussing with persons of a different faith, I am convinced that the respect for the liberty of conscience and for personal liberty in their most sacred aspects suffices to bring about the condemnation of the theory which our lawyer-politicians have invented as a means of concealing behind the mask of civil law an attempt to subject men's souls to an oppressive and tyrannical system. We have, in fact, to deal with a vast conspiracy against liberty; and the further I go the clearer the proof which the statement of the various phases of the situation, and of the facts, affords. The truth will appear still clearer when we examine the last of the accusations directed against the Congregations by the authors of the new law.

The Congregations have been accused of being in a state of rebellion; but I have proved that, on the contrary, their attitude could not possibly have been more legitimate. They have been accused of claiming to occupy a privileged place in the State; but I have proved that the position which they occupied in the modern social system was purely that of associations of ordinary citizens, who fulfilled the duties which are incumbent on all their fellows, and at the same time claimed the rights to which they are strictly entitled. They have been accused of violating the fundamental principles of society by contracting vows which are contrary to nature; but I have shown that such an accusation is neither more nor less than a downright outrage on the conscience of religious humanity.

Reference must be made to another matter, which pro-

vides the real battle-ground on which the enemies and the defenders of the Catholic religion in France come in conflict with each other, and where the attack directed against liberty is more open and defined than elsewhere—I mean the education question.

I have already touched on this point when engaged in refuting the calumnies directed against the Jesuits. The growing animosity of which the Christian colleges were the object, and the uneasy feeling engendered in the minds of their adversaries by their ever-increasing success, undoubtedly played a considerable part in the campaign undertaken against them at the time of the Dreyfus affair. It was the decisive reason which gave rise to the new legislation inaugurated in 1901, applied with tyrannical brutality ever since, and now finally completed by the passing of laws which destroy the last vestiges of Christian education.

What, as a matter of fact, was the nature of the position occupied by that education in the eye of the law? Like everything else, it was the result of the great transformation of 1789. In France, during many centuries, education was under the control of the Church. This fact was due neither to an abuse of power, nor to an encroachment on the rights of the State, but was merely the natural result of the national Constitution. The monarchy had preserved an almost ecclesiastical character, a relic of its original features. The monarch, being himself occupied in fighting in order to bring about the unity of the kingdom, left the care of governing the souls and cultivating the intelligence of his subjects to the Church; and this was the history of public education in France down to the fourteenth century. As soon as the University, which was begotten of the Church and organ-

ized by a combination of forces, arose, it had recourse to the king in order to obtain a guarantee for its privileges against the encroachment of rival schools. This was the second phase of public education. The law-makers then began to crystallize, so far as it affected the Church, the idea of the Sovereign State. The king, as supreme ruler, was the incarnation of that idea, but, as the elect of God, continued to be the protector of the Church, and consequently the protector of its educational system. The struggles between the University and the religious orders took place in the bosom of the Church. When the reform came and destroyed the unity of the Church and State, the royal power attempted to maintain that unity; and it was no doctrine of State authority that it tried to impose, for no such conception as yet existed, but it was always the educational rights of the Church that it insisted upon. But the doctrines of free thought swept away the ancient edifice; the Revolution broke out; uniformity of belief was destroyed; the Christian religion ceased to be a national constituent principle, and the State, theoretically separated from the Church, no longer recognized her exclusive right to educational control. The minds of men as well as their consciences were freed from the fetters which had bound them; and from that day forth, educational freedom, accepted in theory, became an absolute necessity.

It was in vain, as soon as the revolutionary period of violent and chaotic upheaval came to an end, that Napoleon, believing that he could establish his empire over the souls of men by the force of doctrines, founded the new University of France, which still controls our public education, and was destined, in his view, to instruct the entire youth of France by virtue of the exclusive pre-

rogative conferred upon it. No sooner had Napoleon disappeared than the special privilege of the University was assailed from all sides. Believers and unbelievers alike demanded liberty, which successive new forms of government, imbued as I have shown by the Napoleonic spirit, persisted in refusing; and the resultant strife with which the name of Count de Montalembert, so illustrious and so well known in England, is closely connected, occupied thirty years of our history. Eventually, however, the principle of liberty, foreshadowed by the Charter of 1830, introduced into public education by M. Guizot in 1833, and included in the terms of the Constitution of 1848, became a recognized institution by virtue of the law of 1850.

That law was the result of a compromise, creditable to all parties, which was arrived at between the defenders of State education on the one hand, and the partisans of absolute freedom on the other. That law, which was eloquently upheld by M. Thiers before the National Assembly, gave the final sanction to the principle of liberty for all citizens alike (subject, of course, to the control which the State continued to exercise over educational programmes and examinations); and the members of religious orders, as citizens, were not excluded from its operation.

Higher education, which is the concern of the various faculties and not of the colleges, alone continued to be the exclusive appanage of the University. It was not emancipated till 1875, and then only to a very relative extent. Such, in a very small compass, is the history of education in France.

So soon as the third Republic was established it began its reaction against the seemingly definitive measures of

progress that had been attained. Its action was the result of a two-fold influence: of the anti-religious passions which animated it from the very moment of its establishment, and of the Napoleonic tradition, the persistent influence of which I have already indicated. Twenty-five years have now passed since the first attack was made on the liberty of Christian education. Then as now political circumstances provided the necessary opportunity and justification for the campaign. Immediately after the elections, which resulted in the defeat of the monarchical and religious parties, Marshal McMahon, who had been their leader in the fray, was compelled to resign the Presidency of the Republic.

Intoxicated by success, the leaders of the Republican party, henceforth masters of the country, wished to retaliate on their adversaries, and M. Gambetta, in one celebrated phrase, provided the new policy with a party-cry which was destined to resound far and wide: "Clericalism, that is the enemy!" His notion was to present his policy to the country not as a policy of hostility to religion, but merely as one of repression directed against the electoral activity of the clergy. It certainly was an ingenious cry, inasmuch as it apparently spared the religious feelings of a large section of the population, but the perfidiousness of it was bound to be exposed before long. As a matter of fact, as events have proved in the past, and now prove more clearly than ever, in spite of the cloak of pretence with which it is attempted to hide the truth, it is really Catholicism which is attacked under the name of Clericalism.

During the whole course of the campaign, which was then initiated against the religious Congregations, it was the principle of the right to teach which came in for all

the hard knocks. M. Jules Ferry proposed to deprive all the so-called "unauthorized Congregations" of that right, and though his proposal—which was not only repudiated by the Catholics, but owing to the influence of M. Dufaure and M. Jules Simon, produced a veritable upheaval of liberal feeling—was rejected by the Senate, its painful effects were felt when the Government, as a substitute for actual legislation, issued proscriptive edicts against the members of the Congregations. These repressive measures were initiated in 1880, and marked the beginning of the religious crisis which was revived four years ago after a long period of calm.

In any case M. Jules Ferry had great statesmanlike qualities, and when, on the death of Gambetta, in 1883, he became leader of the Republican party, he understood that no government of a country in which religious belief still possesses such a powerful influence could make shift with a policy of violent repression. He undertook the task of making possible to some extent the co-existence of the right to teach and of a powerfully organized system of State education which was to be completely secularized both as regards subjects and teachers, and devoted all his energies to the realization of that system. The party in power followed his lead and faithfully seconded his efforts. The execution of the task that he had undertaken was *the great* achievement of the Republic of that period.

While some of the new laws increased the strength, the prestige, and the authority of the University in every possible manner, others decreed and organized the absolute secularization of public popular education; that is to say, of the educational system to the maintenance of which the whole body of taxpayers contributes. The

primary schools belonging to the State to which the ministers of religion had hitherto been given access, which in many cases were confided to the care of instructors who were members of the Congregations, and in which religious instruction formed part of the curriculum, were declared to be thenceforth, in theory at all events, entirely neutral, that is to say, that though they were denuded of all sectarian characteristics, though even the idea of their duties towards God was no longer imparted to the pupils, though the moral instruction given was not allowed to be based on any form of definite belief, at all events assurances were given that no word should ever be uttered in these schools which might shock or alarm the faith of a child or of his family.

To put the matter in a sentence, the education proposed to the people by the State was denuded, not only of all sectarian admixture, but even of the most elementary religious conception; assuredly an audacious proposition, and one which was well calculated to disturb and terrify all Christian consciences. We must note, however, for it is essential to a clear comprehension of what is taking place to-day, that the laws which, from 1882 to 1886, gave effect to that proposition proclaimed the liberty of private instruction, subject, however, to university control.

This was the system which eighteen years ago was forced, after a series of memorable struggles, upon the Catholics, who, after loyally fighting against its imposition courageously accepted the accomplished fact. Christian schools, founded by them at the price of considerable pecuniary sacrifices (rendered all the more meritorious by the fact that the Catholics had at the same time to pay their share of the tax which provided for the support of

the rival form of education), covered the country. Never has a finer example of devotion been seen; never was a more noble or generous use made of liberty, which, though curtailed and supervised, yet preserved its most essential feature.

At the same time the tacit consent of successive Ministers permitted the reconstitution of the proscribed Congregations, and the colleges which they had founded continued, in the hands of lay proprietors, their educational work with the assistance of some of the members of those bodies. The few Catholic universities, though limited to a curriculum devoid of all possibility of expansion, owing to the fact that the conduct of examinations and the conferment of degrees was a State monopoly, succeeded in maintaining their various Chairs. The ever-increasing confidence which they inspired in the middle classes as well as in the aristocracy, in republican circles no less than in those which still preserved the monarchical tradition, and the numerical increase of the pupils of the primary schools, bear striking witness to the existence of that moral and intellectual need to which, in the eyes of a large section of the population, educational liberty responds. The existence of that need was all the more self-evident owing to the fact that the futility of the effort which had been made, under cover of the neutralization of the Government schools, to reassure the Catholic conscience, became every day more flagrantly conspicuous. In spite of all philosophical efforts, of all pedagogic formulas, of all pamphlets, manuals, and lectures, the impossibility of establishing for masters and pupils alike a clear and practical basis of morality, independent of all belief and all religious sanction, became clear to all. In the lecture-rooms of the various Faculties the



diversity of doctrines was unceasingly on the increase: from the dregs of spiritualism to the various hypotheses of evolution and transmutation, everything had its turn; the so-called State method of instruction was in course of utter pulverization. In the colleges education was thrown on its beam ends by this confusion of ideas and by the futility of official methods. A gigantic parliamentary inquiry, directed with authoritative ability and wide-minded impartiality by M. Ribot, the most eloquent parliamentary orator of the Moderate party, who was several times Minister, made clear to all eyes, at the very moment of the inception of the present crisis, the bankruptcy, so to speak, of the State educational system.

In the primary schools the disease was of a still more aggravated form, more deep-set, more brutally defined. Only too often the teachers in the public schools, being subject to political influences of the most advanced type, violated every rule of neutrality to an ever-increasing extent. Outrages on the Catholic faith, even on the very foundation of religious belief, were innumerable; not moral instruction only but lectures on history, on botany, on zoology, provided at every turn the opportunity for an attack. Under every possible circumstances a declared hostility against every form of positive religion manifested itself in the ranks of the official teaching body. M. Ferdinand Buisson, one of our most conspicuous contemporary politicians, who, by virtue of his official position in the Ministry of Public Instruction, was for many years the real organizer of the so-called "lay" educational system, and who is to-day the ring-leader of the enemies of Congregational instruction, wrote a few years ago in an important book, entitled *Religion, Moral-*

*ity, and Science: their Conflict in the Field of Contemporary Education*, the following significant words:

In all this story about God and the world which Catholic dogma presents to us, there is not one single word which does not provoke, I will not say indignation, for in order to be indignant one would have to believe, but a mute and melancholy denial. . . . With its ideas about the necessity of redemption and of expiatory sacrifice *the Christian moral system presents nothing more nor less than a coarse ideal*, against which our consciences revolt and which would throw us back two thousand years. . . . The only possible result of all rational education must be the evolution of the religion of the past into the irreligion of the future.

Is there a single Christian worthy of the name, let alone a Catholic, who is prepared to accept such a theory as the basis of education, or who could conscientiously accept the consequences which it must have for his children?

It is certainly not in England that an affirmative answer could be given to such a question with any prospect of receiving the support of public opinion. This is proved clearly enough by the recent Education Bill, which strongly maintains the principle of sectarian education, but at the same time, while favoring the Protestant Churches, leaves the Roman Catholics in complete enjoyment of their liberty, and has, in consequence, merited and received their approbation. If the French Catholics, in view of the direction which was given to public education, failed to prevent the application of the new system to the country at large, were they not bound to demand complete liberty to give, in any case to their own children, that type of education which is in conformity with the tenets of their faith, and to provide them with instructors of a nature to guarantee the fulfillment of their desires in this respect? Every person of good faith, or who is

in the least degree animated by a spirit of equity, will unhesitatingly recognize the fact that it was their right and their duty so to act, and, as I have shown, the legislators of 1882 and 1886 proved that they understood, to some extent at all events, the existence of that duty by leaving the Catholics a small modicum of liberty, which they proceeded to utilize with a natural and legitimate alacrity.

After fifteen years of unquestioned exercise by the Catholics of their comparative freedom, the Radical and Socialistic section of the Republican party, taking advantage of the circumstances which had been brought about by the Dreyfus affair, and reviving in a more violent form the movement which had been initiated by Gambetta and Jules Ferry but which good sense and mature reflection had almost immediately toned down, suddenly imposed on the country a despotic and openly unchristian policy, the direction of which was assumed, to his misfortune, by M. Waldeck-Rousseau. The law of 1901 was the expression of that policy, the only apparent object of which was to oblige all religious associations to apply to the Legislature for authorization on pain of dissolution and of seeing their property seized and sold; but in reality the spirit of the law went infinitely further. One of the principal orators of the Socialist party, M. René Viviani, gave this to be understood in the most frankly audacious manner when he proved the impossibility of taking steps against the Congregations without at the same time attacking the Church, for the reason that they are to one another "as the blood is to the flesh"; and he proceeded to repudiate the empty distinction drawn between Clericalism and Catholicism, and to give back to Gambetta's formula its true and original meaning by pointing at

the Catholic Church and saying, "That is the enemy." His speech was the dominating feature of the entire debate, and the fight entered on a new phase. It passed above and beyond the Congregations and involved not only the Catholic Church but the Christian Faith itself, and therewith the very foundations of spiritual liberty. When the debate ended, in the defeat of the Catholics and the Liberals, it was evident that it marked the inception of a war to the knife against Christianity and liberty. On the last day of the discussion I addressed M. Waldeck-Rousseau from the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies, and gave vent to my gloomy forebodings in these words: "I wait to see what will happen so soon as the law is put into execution. In order to preserve your majority and to keep yourself in power you will be compelled, now that you have opened the floodgates, to let yourself be borne along by the tide, no matter how far it may carry you."

## V.

We shall see how violent and how impetuous was the rush of that tide. The law of 1901 was passed in the month of July. It allowed the Congregations three months' grace in which to make their submission: that is to say, to ask for the necessary authorization. The Jesuits and the Assumptionists, who had been specially aimed at by the Government and the parliamentary majority, knowing that it was the deliberate intention to refuse that authorization, thought it wiser and more dignified to dissolve of their own motion, and condemned themselves either to voluntary exile or to a painful and cruel process of dispersion. It was the same with the Benedictines, to

whom the idea of peacefully carrying on their admirable and learned labors in a foreign land seemed preferable to the continued maintenance of a hopeless struggle. Like them, too, numerous female Congregations sacrificed themselves in silence, and transferred their charitable activity to distant fields. But the majority of the religious orders, relying on the text of the law and on the solemn promise that had been made them, petitioned Parliament to authorize their continuance. This was the case with 54 male and 80 female Congregations. Nothing could have been more correct than their action, or have proved more clearly the spirit of loyal obedience to the laws by which they were animated. We shall see in a moment what sort of reception it met with.

The normal dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies took place in 1902, and the elections were held in May. The struggle was a fierce one, and the Government of M. Waldeck-Rousseau threw its whole weight into the scale. French politics cannot be properly understood if the preponderating influence which the authority of the Administration exercises on the course of the elections is not appreciated. It is the natural result of excessive centralization, of the imperfect organization of the system of universal suffrage, and of the immensity of the number of officials who are of necessity subject to Ministerial influence. The election of 1902 proved to be more characteristic in this respect than any of its predecessors, and in the whole electorate the Government obtained a majority of, roughly speaking, no more than 200,000 votes, which is practically the figure represented by the body of Government officials. It is none the less a victory, the credit and the spoils of which the Socialists claimed for themselves with that assurance which always enables the

more violent members of society to force the acceptance of their views on more moderate individuals. It must, however, be observed that the design which the Socialists alone openly avowed of destroying Christian education root and branch, and of openly making war on the Catholic Church, was carefully concealed from the electors by the great majority of candidates, who subsequently, as deputies, were compelled to give their docile adherence to the plan, though possibly it was repugnant to their feelings to do so.

M. Waldeck-Rousseau, having received the approval of the electors in 1902, and having paved the way for the inevitable development of his policy, voluntarily surrendered his place of power, and M. Combes, the present President of the Council, succeeded him at the head of a Ministry which represents the socialistic and, more especially, the anti-religious tendencies of the new Chamber; hence the programme of the new Cabinet is directed solely to the satisfaction of these latter. The application, if that is the right term, of the new law was promptly proceeded with. It was precisely the incidents to which that application gave rise during the summer of 1902, especially in Brittany, which attracted the attention of the *National Review*, and induced it to inquire into the matter. I will not recite those incidents in detail, but, avoiding all passion, and repressing all personal feelings, will limit myself to the indication of their characteristics and their consequences.

I must remind my readers of the fact that the law of 1901 was in no sense aimed at the so-called "authorized" Congregations—on the contrary, its object was to bring all other associations into line with those bodies—and that it in no wise interfered, as was expressly stated from

the tribune of the Chamber, with existing legislation which established the principle of educational liberty as regards private instruction. Nevertheless, the authorized female Congregations and the free schools, which were supposed to be protected by the law, were its first victims. By the issue of arbitrary and unexpected decrees four thousand such schools, established in houses which, for the most part, belonged to lay proprietors either in their individual capacity or as members of associations, were closed, in spite of the protestations, the appeals to the law courts, and the resistance of a population roused to fury by such a brutal outrage on its liberty. In order to overcome that resistance it was necessary to have recourse to armed force, to break open the doors of the condemned schools, and to forcibly expel the humble nuns who, in many cases, had taught there for half a century. Such, and such alone, was the origin of the scenes which were witnessed in Brittany.

The English, who are said to cherish the principle that though the wind and the storm may enter the house of a citizen uninvited the King himself cannot do so, will no doubt be surprised by such a strange violation of domiciliary, educational, and proprietary rights in the absence of all statutory justification or legal decision to support it. In order to avoid scandal and to spare the nuns the pain consequent on violent expulsion, many Congregations preferred to yield to the inevitable and voluntarily to quit their schools. It was thus that a very large number of these evictions, of which there were more than 8,000 in all, were apparently enabled to be effected under relatively peaceful conditions.

The emotion produced by these events was at its height when the moment arrived to bring before Parliament the

applications for authorization which had been formulated by the Congregations. Instead of these applications being submitted to the whole body of Parliament, as the law and the Constitution required, they were brought, by a trick of administrative procedure, before the Chamber of Deputies only. It was proposed, instead of making a separate examination of each petition, to reject them all *en bloc*, and as a matter of fact, in spite of the energetic resistance offered by the Catholic and Liberal minority the fifty-four male and eighty female Congregations were, after a few days' summary discussion, condemned and dissolved! Their members were obliged to leave the educational establishments, colleges, or popular schools, 2,000 in number, in which, untouched by the law, they had taught for so many years; and the very houses in which those schools had been carried on were marked out for attack and made the subject of a huge system of compulsory judicial liquidation directed against the lay associations whose property they are.

Then began the lamentable exodus of those thousands of monks and nuns who were compelled to leave their homes and to give up not only their collective spiritual life but also the profession which provided them with the means of subsistence; who, in order to be able—though their functions were curtailed and their action was hindered in every possible way—to continue their activity, were obliged either to strip themselves of their character as members of a religious order and even of their distinctive dress, or to seek in exile a refuge for their lacerated feelings and hearts torn in two by an ardent love for their native soil and by an invincible attachment to the vows with which their consciences had bound them.

One single male Congregation, whose occupation was



the instruction of poor children, escaped the effects of that terrible storm. It is a famous society, and one which is known all over the world. It has existed ever since the seventeenth century. It was the founder of all the systems of popular instruction which are used at this day in the public schools and created the establishments in which the youthful members of the lower orders can educate themselves for a commercial or an industrial career. Its 2,000 schools, which are attended by more than 350,000 pupils, are scattered over the whole of France, and her colonies. The decree by which Napoleon created the University recognized the existence of those schools and admitted them as educational factors to participation in the great complex life of the Commonwealth. Its founder was a great man, at once humble and illustrious, Jean Baptiste de la Salle, whom the Catholic Church includes in the number of her saints. I refer to that institute of the "Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes."

Besides this male Congregation, 400 female Congregations, duly authorized according to law, had also been preserved. Among their number were those admirable "Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul," of whom one may say that the whole world has learned to revere them, and to look with admiration on the distinctive dress and white hood which is so often seen by the bedside of the sick and wounded, the poor and the young. They in their turn have been brought before the Tribunal of Parliament; the consideration of their case is being begun at the very moment when I write these pages, and before they have been published a condemnatory verdict, arrived at in advance, will have been pronounced. The 2,000 schools which they direct will be affected thereby, and the Sisters will have to leave them. Those Congregations which exist only for

educational purposes will be dissolved, and those which at the same time maintain hospitals or alms-houses will be tolerated only until the time, which cannot be far distant, when the State succeeds in obtaining the needed recruits with more or less of the necessary professional qualifications and the Sisters can be turned away. It is an event of incalculably far-reaching importance. Christian education, reduced to dependence upon lay instructors hitherto numerically insufficient and lacking the needful qualifications, has received a terrible blow destined to be rendered fatal by a last act of violence which has already been announced and discounted, viz., by the final abolition of the last vestiges of a form of liberty which has already practically ceased to exist.

Such then is the present position of affairs. The results of a whole century of effort, of self-sacrifice and of devotion, are crumbling away in the midst of a kind of universal stupor. The effects are apparent to every one in his native town or village, where the house in which he himself and his father before him was educated, and his children were being brought up, and which belonged to him, is suddenly shut up, closed in the face of those who so long inhabited it and threatened with unjustifiable confiscation. Every one, either in his own house or in that of his neighbors, sees humble women, relations or revered friends, bowed by the outrage of which they have been the victims, coming to beg in sorrow for a refuge which they can no longer find in the convent from which they have been expelled. Sixteen hundred thousand children, who had been voluntarily confided to the care of Christian instructors in fifteen thousand schools, have now either to be satisfied with such hastily improvised instruction as chance may give them, or are condemned to endure

the torture of submitting to a form of education which is deliberately hostile to the religious belief of their families. A thick and heavy veil of mourning is cast over the whole of Christian France: I prefer not to lift it any further.

## VI.

Before I conclude, now that I have finished my statement of the facts, I must throw a last glance on the ideas which engendered them, and which in all probability—for so fatal and so sweeping is their influence—will entail still graver consequences in a country, such as mine, where the logic of conceptions is so terribly powerful. One can already foresee that the reasoning process which provided the pretended justification for denying the right to teach to members of the Congregations, on the ground that they had pronounced vows of obedience and of chastity, will be applied in all its sophistical force to all members of the Catholic clergy who submit to their superiors and are vowed to celibacy; and as a matter of fact a proposal to forbid them to teach has already been laid before Parliament.

The Jacobinic notion goes much further still. It propounds the theory that the mere fact of obedience to the Pope in all matters which concern religious doctrine and discipline, subjects all ecclesiastics to a sort of *diminutio capitis*, which renders them incompetent, in a country which is officially withdrawn from the operation of any form of religious authority—where the human law declares itself to be independent of the divine—to exercise any social function whatsoever, such, for example, as the bringing up of the young. It obviously follows that the same incapacity is attributable to all citizens without dis-

tion who profess the Catholic faith which involves, no less than in the case of the priests and members of the religious orders, submission to the head of their Church in all matters which concern the faith. Assuredly such a conception seems monstrous, at the beginning of the twentieth century, to all countries in which the modern principles of liberty of conscience and of worship are recognized as constituting the very foundation of the Commonwealth, and more especially in a State in which the vast majority of the citizens belong to the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, it is in conformity with the political traditions of the French Revolution, and it reappears to-day as the natural result of a process of evolution backwards, in the minds of those who strive to resuscitate those traditions.

One of the leaders of the Parliamentary majority, a Senator who has long held, and still holds, a position of considerable influence in the French Legislature—M. Clémenceau—expounded, also in the pages of the *National Review*, the theory which he has often maintained of the incompatibility of the principles and the doctrines of the Catholic Church with the life and the development of contemporary civil society. He tried to establish his theory on the basis of historical considerations arising from the part played by the Papacy throughout the ages, and of the effects which, in his eyes, the dogmatic definitions of the Roman Pontiffs and of the Councils are liable to have in the political world. The discussion of a thesis of such magnitude would extend this article beyond all proper proportions, and I will only remark that if it were well founded it would be so in other countries just as much as in France; but from an examination of the political situation in the principal States of Europe that does not appear to be the case.

Belgium, for example, offers the spectacle of a nation which for more than twenty years has been governed by Catholic Ministers supported by majorities animated by the same sentiments as their leaders, and not only is it impossible to affirm that liberty has suffered thereby, but on the contrary it is an indisputable fact that the liberty of the Press, of opinions, and of discussion, parliamentary and otherwise, and (to speak more especially of the subject in hand) the right to teach, are more unrestricted in that country than in many others; and in no State are social legislation and active democratic organization more developed.

The German Empire, under the impulsion of Prince Bismarck, engaged during the first years of its existence in a memorable struggle with the Catholic Church, not unlike that which was undertaken in France by the Ministers of the Third Republic. Not only did that struggle come to an end when Prince Bismarck had to appeal to the Catholics for their assistance against the Socialists, but the aspect of the situation has entirely changed since the accession of William II. A considerable degree of liberty has been restored to the Catholic Church, the Sovereign seeks for every possible opportunity to manifest towards it his sentiments of respect and of sympathy, and far from considering it as a force which is fraught with danger to the Empire, treats its representatives and its adherents as valuable allies.

May I not add that England also gives a striking example to the civilized nations of what the spirit of liberty can do for the satisfaction and the peace of men's consciences? I believe that since the time when religious quarrels were extinguished by Catholic emancipation and the old cry of "No Popery" ceased to resound, the country has had no reason to complain of the part which

has been played in English society by the Bishops and the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, and that neither their loyalty nor that of their pupils has ever been doubted for a moment. Were it necessary to consider the question from the point of view of their solicitude for the interests of the people and of their capacity to understand its needs, the great services rendered by Cardinal Manning would at once force themselves upon our memory.

Facts, therefore, in the most eloquent and decisive manner refute a theory which is based upon historical reminiscences interpreted with passionate partiality, wholly inapplicable to the conditions of contemporary society, and serving only to resuscitate the disputes of the past; or which is founded upon doctrinal dissertations the meaning of which has been insufficiently studied and wherein the most essential distinctions, to which the Church itself has continually drawn attention, are entirely neglected.

But, as I have proved by an historical statement which appears to me to be far stronger than all the theoretical discussions of my opponents, it is not merely against the Catholic Church and its doctrines that the "lay" movement, as it is called in our country, is directed, but against Christianity itself. In vain do certain minds, by reason of the direction imparted to them in early years by their French Protestant education, from the influence of which they have, by the way, emancipated themselves, attempt in this connection the maintenance of impossible distinctions, and strive thereby to justify their conceptions in the eyes of neighboring nations in general and of England in particular. More than a hundred years have passed since Burke, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, in the course of his demonstration of the fact that religious principles are far more necessary in the

case of a democratic than in that of a monarchical government, answered those very pretensions with these words: "Violently condemning neither the Greek nor the Armenian, nor, since passions have subsided, the Roman system of religion—we prefer the Protestant; not because we think it has less of the Christian religion in it, but because, in our judgment, it has more. We are Protestants, not from indifference, but from zeal." This reply might be addressed to-day to those who seek the approbation of interested parties for their anti-Christian campaign.

In reality the term "anti-Christian" is not strong enough; for the attack is in fact directed against the very idea of religion. An important member of the present Ministerial majority, who intervened with decisive effect in the Senate in connection with the abrogation of the last guarantees of scholastic liberty, said two years ago, "The triumph of the Galilean has lasted for twenty centuries: it is now his turn to die. The mysterious voice which once on the mountains of Epirus announced the death of Pan, to-day announces the end of that false God who promised an era of justice and peace to those who should believe in him. The deception has lasted long enough: the lying God in his turn disappears." The politician who spoke in these terms—M. Delpech—adds to the authority which his parliamentary position gives him that conferred by the lofty functions which he exercises in the realms of Freemasonry. I doubt if the true meaning of this fact is quite understood by my readers, who are accustomed, as far as I can judge, to look upon Freemasonry as a charitable and harmless institution. France was the victim of that illusion at the end of the eighteenth century, and has had only too good reasons for curing herself of it. To-day all anti-Christian legis-

lation, all hostile measures directed against the Catholics, are prepared and forced on the country by the Masonic body, which has all the force of a political caucus. It was at Masonic assemblies more than elsewhere that all laws directed against educational liberty were, and still are, elaborated, preparatory to their being dictated to the Ministers and submitted to Parliament.

Well-informed writers have often noted traces of the same inspiration in the history of the Revolution. Thus, from every point of view, the present crisis brings before our eyes the tradition of that decisive epoch, and at the same time makes manifest the strange contradiction existing between the principles of liberty in the realm of politics proclaimed in 1789 and the intellectual despotism in the realm of philosophy inaugurated by the hatred of Christianity, which dates from the same period. The existence of that contradiction is freshly affirmed in our own day by the pretension which the modern Jacobins try to force down our throats: by the attempt made, as in times past, under cover of the catchwords supplied by the principle of the essential unity of the State, to establish a certain doctrine which is incompatible with the very idea of liberty of conscience. M. Clémenceau has tried, no doubt, to save the principle of liberty from the inevitable consequences of his anti-Catholic theory, and to maintain that the former could remain intact, and even be developed to the highest degree, even after the latter had received its definite consecration by the destruction of all Christian education. But none of his opponents and few of his friends considered that he had succeeded, and the latter clearly pointed, as the former had foreseen would be the case, to the supremacy of State teaching and State education as the normal outcome of the new legislation.



This essay should naturally terminate with an attempt to forecast the ultimate issue of the religious crisis from which France is now suffering, but that would necessarily entail an examination of the whole problem of the relationship of Church and State, of which the question of the Congregations and of education is but one of the aspects; and my readers, whose patience I have tried only too severely, will doubtless understand that I cannot, at this stage, begin the treatment of a new and so extensive a development of my subject. It will suffice if I state my conviction that the idea of the separation of Church and State—which is extolled by our adversaries as the necessary end of the struggle and as constituting a new governmental formula—is, in the present condition of our political institutions and of our religious habits, a dangerous chimera. Here again the lessons of history provide an ample proof. The outcome of the experiment which was made, from 1795 to 1799, in the direction of such separation, under the influence of the same ideas and of the same violent passions, was a ferocious persecution of the Catholic clergy and religion. The result would be the same to-day. To the attempt originated by the Revolution an end was put by the signing of the Concordat, the determining cause of which was, in the mind of Bonaparte, the spontaneous revival of the Catholic faith after the bloody period of the Terror. If the situation has altered in our days, it has changed in the sense that the religious movement has, in spite of certain political phenomena, become more intense and more deliberate than it formerly was, no less in intellectual circles than among the people.

While the governing classes, victims of an incomprehensible blindness, strive to tear up the imperishable tree

of Christianity, it is putting forth fresh roots, which are penetrating ever deeper and deeper into the souls of men. Banished from its place in the laws and institutions of our country and in the ranks of officialdom, the Church is daily winning an unexpected place in the life of the nation as the result of the very fact that it has been persecuted and of the natural spiritual needs of mankind. Now more than ever it appears in the light of a moral force, immense and indispensable, whose influence no prudent Government can possibly misapprehend. An attempt may be made to combat it, but to ignore it is impossible; sooner or later they will have to come to terms with it. Whatever the extent, the duration, and the effects of the present crisis may be, that must be the inevitable conclusion, for that alone can guarantee that measure of religious liberty which is compatible with the conditions of the age in which we live.

High above the disputes, the passions and the excesses of all political parties, one fact dominates the history of these last years; though obscured by the thick cloud in which religious discord has involved us, it has yet been clear to all who can penetrate into the heart of the nation. I mean the existence of an immense, a universal aspiration towards reconciliation and appeasement; of an imperious desire, which must triumph in the end, to see the hearts of all drawn closer to each other; and to see all those who are already united by the strong and indissoluble bonds of patriotism fuse and combine in single-minded devotion to the service and the welfare of our country.

A. DE MUN.

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# **Religious Indifferentism**

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**A pastoral letter for the Lent of 1899  
by Mgr. Diomedede Falconio, Archbishop  
of Acerenza and Matera, Now Apostolic  
Delegate to the United States.**



# Religious Indifferentism

A Pastoral Letter for the Lent of 1899 by  
Mgr. Diomede Falconio, Archbishop of  
Acerenza and Matera. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■



*To the Beloved Clergy and People in the Two Arch-  
dioceses, Peace and Greeting in the Lord:*

It is now the hour for us to rise from sleep. \* \* \*  
Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness,  
and put on the armour of light.

*St. Paul to the Romans, Ch. XIII.*

YES, it is time to arouse ourselves, oh most beloved, if we do not wish irrevocably to perish. But, I may be asked, why this cry of alarm from the mouth of a minister of the sanctuary? What dangers, what ambushes are awaiting us?

Dearly beloved, there is no doubt that our Italy presents a pitiable spectacle. Brothers have risen against brothers. Their blood has been spilled in the highways, like the blood of an enemy! Yes, the sad days of last May still make our hearts quake, still terrify our minds. And it is amid the horrors of pillage, the rattling of grape-shot, the flare of conflagrations, that from the breast of the true patriot issues spontaneously the cry: *Let us save our country!*

N.B.—In order to understand some of the allusions made in this pastoral, it should be borne in mind that it was written soon after the revolutionary movement which disturbed upper Italy in 1898.

After that terrible outbreak a clear-headed writer observed: "The tumults that have arisen in so many parts of Italy, the losses of life, of property, the stagnation of labor and of trade, the great expenses which in the end will fall upon everybody to repay—in short, the formidable crisis from which we have barely emerged, are full of instructions. "We have all sinned," we must exclaim, beating our breasts, "we, the men of all parties."<sup>1</sup>

Episodes of the saddest, scenes truly harassing, have occurred in this social convulsion, which seemed as if it must engulf the entire peninsula in its abyss. Boys might have been seen "*enraged, envenomed, perverted,*" who overwhelmed the soldiery with the most opprobrious contumely; girls barely fifteen without shame and indeed utterly deprived of modesty, rushing like furies through the streets of an illustrious city, exciting to hatred and revolt, and indulging in vulgar jests.

"Ah, me, to what school," a writer asked in dismay, "did these girls go, and up to what age?"<sup>2</sup>

"What kind of wives," suggested another, "what kind of mothers can these girls become?"<sup>3</sup> And, with sorrowful accent, he continued: "Oh, how much better would it be if instead of preaching Utopias and disseminating poison, the friends of the working-classes would think seriously of their education!"<sup>4</sup>

But ferocity did not end here. I trust I may be pardoned if I rend asunder, from top to bottom, the dark curtain of this revolting and cruel drama. In those sad

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<sup>1</sup> *Corriere di Milano*, of May 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Don Chisciotto*, May 12, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *La Sera*, May 11, 1898.

<sup>4</sup> *La Sera*, May 11, 1898.

days "one might see women of the people dipping their handkerchiefs and their fingers in the blood of boys killed by stray bullets, and then bathing their temples and their faces, shrieking horrible vows of vengeance."<sup>5</sup>

Scenes there were of such barbarity and such horror as to recall to mind the saddest episodes of the French Revolution, which towards the close of the last century made all the world stand aghast.

Gentlemen, it is an indisputable maxim that every effect must have a cause. Now, what is the cause of this perilous effervescence; of this deplorable moral degradation? Let the answer come from those who had and still have so large a part in the direction of public affairs. An organ of authority has affirmed that "for forty years there has been no public office, nor elevated position whence there has not come some offense to all that should make Italy truly new, from the national dignity to the modernized military spirit, from Italian culture to the consciousness of being."<sup>6</sup>

As we see, having made vast strides out of the path, as St. Augustine would say, we must turn back, according to the confession of those same government organs. We must either reform or die.

A terrible dilemma for a nation which has grown old and decadent before its time, and all the graver because acknowledged by the very people who by their new methods of educating and moralizing betrayed themselves into such ruin.

*Either reform or die!* But in what must such reform

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<sup>5</sup> *Gazetta di Venezia*, May 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Opinione*, May 15-16, 1898.

consist? This is the matter to be seriously considered. The modern school has not yet known how to give an adequate answer to this demand, not yet discovered a healing medicament to alleviate the malady that oppresses it. Untruthful and haughty, wavering between uncertainty and fear, it continues to cling to the hopes of its Utopias. Meanwhile the young nation, sick, languishing, deteriorating, already grows old, and is as if suspended over a volcano which threatens to swallow it. Oh, away forever with equivocations, with illusions, with that pride that devours us, and, prostrate before God, without human respect, let us confess our error; let us confess it with a truly contrite soul: *We have erred, in the way of truth . . . we wearied ourselves in the way of iniquity,*<sup>7</sup> and so we come, astonished and humbled by Thy chastisements, and we drink from the chalice of bitterness. *He shall rain snares upon sinners: fire and brimstone and storms of winds shall be the portion of their cup.*<sup>8</sup>

Despite the verdict of universal history and of the most illustrious men who have reviewed the fates of nations, modern society wishes to minimize in government the powerful support of religion. Now this apostasy from God, which has shaken the basis of healthy morality, is *the true cause of the evils which we deplore*. "Irreligion," says a great philosopher of antiquity,<sup>9</sup> "is the most pernicious pest of a state. He who rejects religion attacks the foundations of human society." And these foundations have in fact been shaken by that irreligious spirit, which in these latter days, invades, more or less,

<sup>7</sup> Wisdom v. 6. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Psalm x. 7.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, Book X. *De Legibus*.



every class of society. It has come to pass that, however few those who openly profess themselves Atheists, nevertheless, immense is the number of those who treat matters of religion with reprehensible indifference. And against this indifferentism, which, unhappily, has instilled itself into the bosom of our nation, and lacerates it, saddens it, degrades it, dishonors it. We must arouse ourselves to battle with all the forces of our soul, for this is the true enemy of our country!

That modern school which has set itself so strenuously to tear belief from the breast of our people, haughty in its impiety, will not know easily how to adapt itself to this change of life. A repentance of this sort would come too hard upon it. Nevertheless, he who has truly at heart the welfare of the nation, now fully understands that the problem proposed by a celebrated philosopher,<sup>10</sup>—viz., whether it is possible for *a man or a society to be virtuous and happy without any religious belief*,—has been solved in the most solemn manner these latter days by the general trend of things.

And in fact when religious belief—"which is the source of prosperity and greatness to a nation and the principal foundation of every well-ordered society"<sup>11</sup>—is once shaken, we fall naturally into forgetfulness of the most sacred duties. Hence that unbridling of passions, that frightful licentiousness, in short, that moral decadence which to-day contaminates, oppresses and degrades us. It is time, therefore, to free ourselves from this intolerable yoke; it is time to revive our faith and to profess it openly with due performance of our sacred duties. Only this revival of religion can save society from the

<sup>10</sup> Bayle.

<sup>11</sup> Leo XIII Encyclical. *Spesse Volte*.

invasion of infidelity. So long as in our pride we oppose ourselves to so salutary a remedy, so long as the holy laws of God are not our guide, our strength will have been expended in vain.

Yes, gentlemen, sound, oh! sound that wished-for hour when, with calmed passions, with a recognition of the sad consequences of this fatal error men will resolve to shake off this religious indifference which devours us, and we shall make an open, a sincere, a fruitful profession of faith.

### I.

I. What is religious indifference? An esteemed writer answers "Religious indifference, with which so large a number of the Christians of to-day are marked and spotted, is a species of anæmia, of consumption, of marasmus of the soul. Talk we of God, of the Church, of Religion? They shrug their shoulders, smile and say, 'Let us discuss something else.' Do we seek to discover the origin of man? The end of man? His duties toward God? They yawn and say 'What do we know?' Whatever be the religious argument you broach, the indifferent are annoyed, change the subject, and say: 'These are not the things to talk about. What do they matter to us? We have other things to think of and to do.' Religious indifference is not love: is not hatred: is not science: is not ignorance: is not darkness: is not life: is not death,—it is nausea, it is disgust with truth, it is torpor, it is the dormancy of intelligence and of will, it is a moral decay, it is a water that does not run, but stops, becomes stagnant, and putrifies."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> G. Bonomelli. *Christian Mysteries*, vol. 1.

2. Such is a description of the disease which contaminates modern society, corrupts it, befouls it, lacerates it, keeps it convulsed, drags it swiftly down an incline that leads to a precipice. And our Italy, which God, with singular predilection, has chosen for the principal seat of our religion, and which thus has become the master civilizer of the world, our Italy, I say, groans under the weight of this maleficent influx.

Unfortunately, from among ourselves in the new order of things there has arisen an anti-christian school, an atheistic school, which, with cold cynicism, not only sets itself to discrown man of his lofty dignity, making him descend from the frog and the gorilla, but also rebels against the very Creator of the world. The cry of the fool, *Non est Deus* resounds in the midst of a people preferentially blessed by God in many respects, and although the impious doctrine can make impression only on those who, in St. Augustine's words, find it to their interest that there should be no God,<sup>13</sup> none the less the faith suffers.

This audacious attack against everything the most sacred and the most august that exists upon earth, found favor and protection with not a few. The press, the school, the drama, everything was set to work to discredit religion.

Oh! times! Oh! manners! Is it possible that, amid a civilized people, which has gained life and splendor from religion, it is necessary to raise a voice to confirm it in the faith of a God, the Creator and Supreme Legislator of the Universe? Is it possible that the descendants of

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<sup>13</sup> *Nemo Deum negat, nisi cui expedit Deum non esse.*

a Benedetto da Norcia, of a Francesco d' Assisi, of an Alighieri, of a Raphael, of a Michael Angelo, of a Columbus, and of so many other great men, whose genius rivalled their faith, must be recalled to the necessity of recognizing a Supreme Being, after the fashion of Pagans and the inhabitants of the forests?

3. Oh man! turn for a little while your eyes upon the universe, and tell me, if you can, that God does not exist! Consider the majestic arch of the sky, fretted with stars, of constant regularity of motion, the moon with her splendor, the sun which warms and fecundates everything which its rays illumine, and tell me, if you can, that all this can exist "without recognizing an intelligence, supreme, divine, which gives life and motion and preservation and laws to nature."<sup>14</sup> Observe the diversity of the seasons, which succeed one another regularly, the sea which submits to the shore that surrounds it, the earth enamelled with grass and flowers, and rich with fruit, the immense number and variety of birds, of fish, and of so many other animals which populate the earth, and tell me if all this could possibly exist without a potent creative force which rules and governs all. Oh! to imagine that architecture so vast is not the work of a supreme intelligence but is simply an agglomeration of parts united by chance, would be a lack of reason, of intelligence, even of eyes!<sup>15</sup>

Now, this Supreme Being is God, and we cannot conceive of Him otherwise than as a Being who had no beginning, can have no end, and Who, before the begin-

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<sup>14</sup> Cicero, 1, 11. C. II *De Nat. Deorum*.

<sup>15</sup> Minutius Felix.

ning of the world, was Himself His own Centre; Who created everything by His word, ordered everything with His intelligence, perfected everything with His virtue!

The eye cannot overtake Him. His splendor absorbs our weak sight. Our intelligence cannot comprehend His immensity, and our circumscribed senses are halted at the spectacle of this infinite greatness. He alone can understand Himself.<sup>16</sup> He *is*, however,—and the less we are able to penetrate into the abyss of His divine perfection, the more we should adore the deeps and humiliate ourselves. “The more I force myself,” said Rousseau, “to contemplate the Infinite Essence of God, the less I understand It. It *is*; that is sufficient for me. The less I can conceive of it, the more I adore it, humble myself before it, and say, ‘Being of Beings, I am because Thou art. It is a raising of my soul to meditate incessantly upon Thee, the most worthy use of my reason is to annihilate myself before Thee, it is the ecstasy of my spirit, the consolation of my weakness to feel myself absorbed in Thy greatness.’”<sup>17</sup>

4. To this manifestation of the existence of God through His own works a hymn of perennial and universal praise has always been raised from earth to heaven. The poets have sung its glory, philosophers have sought to excogitate its nature, kings and governors have drawn from it their own authority and their own power; Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Chrysippus, Plato, Socrates, Cicero, Numa,—in short, all the greatest geniuses, the wisest legislators, not to speak of the people at large, have universally recognized that the universe has had

<sup>16</sup> Minutius Felix, *Apol.*

<sup>17</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, vol. 3.

its great artificer, that His invisible hand regulates the admirable order which shines in it, and worship Him on bended knees. And so as the tribute of science allied itself harmoniously to the universal faith of people of every class, of every sex, of every condition, the holy name of God was always and everywhere loved, worshipped, blessed.

Oh! therefore, let our debilitated faith awake, and let us also recognize the existence of a Supreme Being who created everything, Who regulates and governs everything, with our heart upon our lips, let us repeat with the psalmist:—<sup>18</sup>

Yes, O God! Supreme Ruler of the universe, cause a ray of Thy divine light to pierce through the darkness, which oppresses us, and give back to our country in all its purity, in all its fulness, the hereditary faith, which for us will be strength, health, life,—that faith which is the secure foundation of human society,<sup>20</sup> that faith without which it is not enough to do good.<sup>21</sup>

## II.

1. The works of the Creator are so great and so many that the human mind will never be able to comprehend them, nor even conceive of their grandeur, their immensity, their magnificence. Before this harmonious

<sup>18</sup> *O praise ye the Lord, all ye nations: praise him all ye peoples: For his mercy is confirmed upon us, and the truth of the Lord remaineth forever.*

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. Psalm, cxvi.

<sup>20</sup> Anon.

<sup>21</sup> Dante. Purgatory, xii, 124.

assemblage of indescribable marvels, poetry is confounded, science is bewildered. But among all these beings there is one, on whom it would seem that God had by preference showered all the treasures of His beauty, of His goodness, of His infinite love. As great geniuses full of light, exuberant with love, adorned with beauty, set themselves to transfuse into their works the qualities which distinguish them; so in an infinitely superior manner it would seem that the Supreme Being has wished to transfuse into man the treasures of His divine nature.

The story of the creation of this privileged being is full of wisdom, of love, of greatness. Before everything, the Creator in His infinite power forms the globe, which He illuminates, beautifies and adorns with the stars of the Heaven, and with an immensity of animate and inanimate beings, which are to serve and sustain him, and prepares for him a sumptuous dwelling place, and after having prepared everything molds his body with His own hands, and with a breath of love animates and gives life to him.<sup>22</sup>

Oh! how lovable, how great, how sublime, the Creator appears in this act. With a liberality which fills us with wonder, He lovingly makes this favored creature rise out of nothing, and adorns him with the splendor of His beauty. Henceforth, above all, He, the Creator, cannot help being lovingly inclined towards this work of His infinite wisdom, and this creature, so long as he has intellect and heart, cannot help but love, bless and praise his Creator.

These relations between God and the creature form the assemblage of acts which we call religion.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Genesis, c. i, ii.

<sup>23</sup> St. Augustine, Lactantius, Bossuet.

II. Now who could ever dare to break these harmonious links between the creature and the Creator without making himself guilty of the blackest ingratitude, the most sacrilegious guilt? To take away from man in misery and abandonment, the one comfort of throwing himself into the arms of a loving father who knows how to alleviate his suffering, is an excess of barbarism, a most unfeeling tyranny! To allow men in society to betray one another, to hate one another, to rend one another into pieces, and to take away their high ideal of a most just God, superior to human passions, who punishes the impious and rewards the virtuous, a God whose eye notes even those things that elude the most watchful human justice, is the most atrocious, the most sacrilegious of crimes. Diagorus of Miletus and Theodore of Cyrene, for having dared to shake belief in a Supreme Being who makes man docile to the laws and to the observance of his own duties were classed among the worst enemies of their country. Protagoras of Abdera, for having put in doubt the divinity, was, by sentence of the Areopagus, banished from the territory of Athens, and his books were consigned to the flames. And we, in the midst of a Christian people, must we be constrained to see the traducers of the most sacred, the most perfect, the most august of religions, borne in triumph, honored and revered as benefactors of humanity? Oh! times, truly sad, when the thermometer of common sense has fallen so low!

III. If you take away from man the religious idea which excites to the holy fear of God, of that Supreme Being who sees all, feels all, weighs all in the scales of His divine justice and who consequently forms the funda-



mental basis of all right, of all duty—what remains to hold him submissive to the law, obedient to social conventions? Ah, the fascinating cry of liberty, when it is raised in the work of creating a school of unbelievers, is a cry of moral degradation, of real treachery in a civilized nation.

All this was well understood by the wise ones of the earth, by the most renowned legislators, the most profound philosophers. Therefore they always sought to keep the faith firm in all men; and here without mentioning the Greeks, who in all their doings recognized the force of an omnipotent hand, or the Romans who placed religion above all worldly interests and never gave battle without first having recourse to the immortal gods,<sup>24</sup> I speak of the wise ones of all the earth, because the entire human race, according to Aristotle, recognizes a Supreme Being which it reverences and honors.<sup>25</sup> "No, there is no people so barbarous and so savage," says Cicero, "which does not recognize the existence of a God, although it may be ignorant of his nature." And Plutarch rebukes Colotus, an Epicurean philosopher, in these vibrant words: "If you seek over all the earth you may find a city without walls, without letters, without a king, without roofs, without riches, deprived of money, of theatres, of schools, but a city without temples and without God, which does not make use of prayer and of vows, which has no oracles, offers no sacrifices to obtain desired good and does not seek the sacred things to keep misfortunes away, no one has ever seen nor ever will see."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Val. Massimo, lib. I, cap. i, *De Relig.*, num. 9.

<sup>25</sup> Aristotle, *De Cod.*, lib. I, cap 3.

<sup>26</sup> Cicero, *De Leg.*, lib. I, cap 8.

<sup>27</sup> Plutarch, *Advers. Coletem*.

Therefore, it is not to be wondered at that Pompey wished religion to be inscribed before all the people as a patrimony common to all. And the glorious deeds of religion have been narrated by almost every historian from Moses and Herodotus down to our own times. The most celebrated poets and the most illustrious writers have made record of its marvels. Homer, Hesiod and Virgil are full of this divine ideal. The priests, the vestals, the sacrifices, the temples, the obelisks, the pyramids are an open book to all which reveal that whatever was great, solemn, majestic in the ancient world had its foundation in religion. It is indeed true that those people, with the exception of the Jews, directed their worship to imaginary, superstitious and often even filthy ideals. Still, the fact remains unshaken that they were full of faith in a Being whom they believed to be supreme, to be the pivot upon which the entire social economy turns; and thus in Eleusis they adored Ceres; in Phrygia, Cybele; in Babylon, Baal; in Epidaurus, Aesculapius; in Taurus, Diana; in Syria, Astarte; in Gaul, Mercury; and in Rome the aggregate of all the deities. Now although in this multiplicity of gods and promiscuity of worships there is much that is absurd, nevertheless the principle remains true that human society has need of a religion to keep itself upon the path of rectitude and civilization.

IV. But, thank God! a period more luminous with the strength of religion upon the destinies of the human family presents itself with the rise of Christianity. In its lustrous light the ancient superstitious beliefs disappeared like shadows, false gods fell before the foot of the cross, bedewed with the blood of the Son of God. This glorious standard became a sign of health and the

symbol of a new civilization upon earth, which, pregnant with charity and justice, bound together the ties of affection between man and God.

Christianity, that beneficent dew, revived the germs of religion, purifying it from the errors of paganism, and in a short time the standard of Christ, more potent than the Roman eagle, passed beyond the limits of that vast empire and diffused itself over all the earth. Christianity reformed the customs, corrected the laws, established dogmas of a most perfect morality, which remains the testament of all the human race. And so we see slavery, prostitution, the selling of children, the gladiatorial combats, the servitude of woman and many other brutalities which defiled the earth, gradually disappear from human society. The throne itself of the Cæsars, from the time the cross appeared, was no longer profaned with the tyrannies and the shameless infamies of a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, a Domitian, a Commodus and a Heliogabulus.

With virtue there sprang up again also eloquence, true philosophy, the sciences and all the fine arts. The apologetic works of Tertullian, of Lactantius, of Minutius Felix; the eloquence of Chrysostom, of Nazianzen, of St. Basil, and of so many other illustrious writers and Fathers of the Church, recalled to mind the most felicitous days of Demosthenes and Cicero.

Pagan philosophy purged and corrected by the genius of Christianity, gained such splendor that the celebrated Lactantius could say: "Would that it pleased heaven that Cicero recalled to life, would deign to come to school to the least of the Christian masters. Learn, I would say to him, to know better that philosophy to which you

have paid so many tributes when you called it the torch of life, the teacher of virtue, the regulator of manners, the legislator of the human race. But what in the end have you reaped from its lessons? They made you the ornament of Latin letters, the imitator of Plato, that is all. Everything that it taught you, was it anything else than a knowledge of knowing nothing? According to your own confession, therefore, it left you in the most profound ignorance of the right conduct of life."<sup>28</sup> On the other hand "there is a book," said one of the most celebrated of modern philosophers, "a little book which we make children learn and on which they are questioned at church. Read this little book, the catechism. You will find in it the solution of all those questions which I have propounded in my volumes; of all, without exception. If you seek to know whence comes the human race, it knows; whither it is going, it knows; by what method it is going it knows."<sup>29</sup> And another scientist continues: "I find in the Christian religion a character that fills me with enthusiasm, which is that it unites in its teachings the wisest metaphysics with the simplest and most efficacious simplicity. Certainly the Timotheus of Plato and the Twelfth Book of the Metaphysics of Aristotle are wonders! But I don't think that it will be possible ever to get out of these a creed which could be recited even by children. Up to this hour there has never been anything but the Christian religion which possesses at the same time the Summa of St. Thomas and the catechism."<sup>30</sup>

Hand in hand with literature and philosophy the fine

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<sup>28</sup> Lattanzio. *Sulle Storie degli Dei. lib. II.*

<sup>29</sup> Jouffroy. *Cours de Droit Naturel.*

<sup>30</sup> Jules Simon. *Liberté de Conscience.*

arts, also, have been developed in a degree surpassing all the most sublime masterpieces that ever Athens or Ancient Rome had executed. Italy more than any other nation saw Christianity so conquer all minds that she attracted to herself the most indomitable souls, the most profound intellects, the most sparkling geniuses. In fact, from that epoch down to our time there has been no genius of any value who has not consecrated his work to the glory of this divine religion; the most renowned poets, painters, sculptors, architects and the musicians of the greatest fame have rivalled each other in illustrating its profound mysteries. Alighieri, Tasso, Manzoni, Pellico, Arnolfo, Brunelleschi, Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Mercadante, Cherubini, Donizzetti, Rossini, and a hundred other sublime geniuses, inspired by faith, have enriched our peninsula with works so prodigious that they keep the world rapt in admiration.

What would remain of our Italy if the masterpieces inspired by religion were to disappear? It is said, and with good reason, that without religion the dark night of ignorance and barbarity would be restored.

5. Now the Catholic Church, of which we Italians, thanks to the goodness of God, are a part, and a glorious part, because her principal seat is found among us, is the most perfect expression of Christianity. Fortunate, therefore, are we who are born from the womb of a mother fecund with so many glories and so many triumphs. The centuries were and will be always under the dominion of her loving government. Strong in her teaching because inspired by God, She does not cease to astonish the world, and her conquest with the sole might

of this simple and profound word will have no boundaries. Secure in the faith which she professes, she is invincible. The ordeal of iron, of fire, of the most cruel torture will never suffice to turn her from her glorious path. In her presence the sophist is silenced, the proud man is humbled, tyranny is conquered! Like a majestic queen, rich in strength, in sanctity, in doctrine, she always carries in her train civilization and progress. She has reformed manners, institutions, laws, codes, literature, arts, sciences. She has, as a great genius observes, directed and civilized the world.

Now, of all these glories, our Italy has, above all, reason to be proud. Chosen by God as the centre of Christianity, enriched by the seat of Peter, under the protecting ægis of religion, she became the land of genius, the mistress of the sciences, the temple of the fine arts, the source of true civilization.

Deprived of the Catholic religion, Italy would lack her high ideal, which for nineteen centuries has given her light, genius, strength, honor. Degraded under the yoke of a deformed materialism, she would fall into ignorance, into oblivion.

Gentlemen, shall we deny this faith; shall we be so foolish as to forget the glorious story of so many centuries, to throw ourselves into doubt, into the obscurity of the unknown? What would be our faith? We shall see.

### III.

1. Observe how universal is the faith in a Supreme Being, and how necessary it is for the morality of the people. Note that between this creative and conserving

Being and man there must be relations which meet according to their respective natures, and that these relations form that golden chain which unites God to man and man to God, and which is called religion. Take note, furthermore, how our religion is the basis, support and guide of every civilized society, because from her are disseminated, as from their proper source, the duties and the rights of man. Now who is it that dares to break those harmonious relations of man with God? Who is it that will set to work to dry up this fruitful source of order, of equity, of peace, of harmony, of love among men? *Religious indifferentism.*

To this we must attribute that chaos of ideas, that decadence of manners, that contempt for constituted authority, that general perversion, which in our time consume so bitterly the social body. And this pestiferous corruption becomes all the more dangerous because it chiefly draws its origin from the higher classes, whose example is diffused all the more easily among the people.

Glance at the domestic hearth, at the school, at the social environment, and you will find how man is gradually drawn to this state of deplorable perversion.

2. Christian marriage exacts that the father and the mother, in communicating the life of the body to the progeny, must also animate that of the spirit, according to the sentence of the sacred books: "Hast thou children? Instruct them and bow down their *neck* from childhood."<sup>21</sup> It is on these conditions that God concedes to the father and the mother the honor of paternity and maternity. "See," says Cortes, "that child born within the hour has no will, no understanding, no strength, which

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<sup>21</sup> Eccli. vii. 25.

can do nothing, knows nothing, possesses nothing. In its extreme weakness, in its great ignorance, it only knows one thing, all it can do is to weep. Only in shedding tears has it no need of a teacher."<sup>22</sup> Who will take care of this little man who begins the pilgrimage of life? The parents, as they set themselves to feed the body with wholesome and nutritious foods, so they ought to take pains to infuse into the mind sentiments of piety and rectitude. In this way the child, while it grows up healthy in body, will also feel itself strong in soul, and so be able to adjust itself with some certainty to the perilous career of life.

Such, according to the ideal of religion, is what ought to be the office of Christian consorts. And as often as this sacred ministry is faithfully adopted, in the words of the Holy Ghost, the sons will not swerve from the right path. "A young man, after his way, when old will not depart from it."<sup>23</sup> And such is the force with which God, through the Apostle St. Paul, commands this duty that he classes negligent parents among those who deny the faith, and he even considers them inferior to the very infidels.

3. Ah me! How many fathers and mothers of families to-day faithfully perform this duty! Oh, how often it happens that a child grows robust and strong in body, but his soul begins to languish from his birth, and no sooner has he attained the use of reason than his innocent mind becomes the victim of the bad example of his parents. He then sees that the mother prays and the father curses; that the mother inspires him with sentiments of love towards God, and the father blasphemes

<sup>22</sup> Donoso Cortes. Lett. el Pais e *El Herald*, July 16, 1819.

<sup>23</sup> Proverbs, xxii. 6.



Him; that the mother goes to church, and the father stays away. And this bad example will have still worse effects if it is set by both of his parents. If the father be indifferent, the mother is negligent.

Now, what idea could the child ever form of good and evil under these guides, who will engender in his mind contradictory and irreligious sentiments? Unhappy parents, who answering so badly to the duties of your station, are making ready for the sorrowful consequences of this, your fatal negligence. The time of disillusion will not be long in coming. This lad, in whom God had infused a pure and beautiful soul, and who, well guided, would one day have filled your heart with joy, will, perhaps, become for you a cause of dishonor and of grave sorrow.

4. From the domestic hearth the child passes to school. School, according to the right idea, should be a great mistress who sets the child upon the threshold of life under the escort of religion, morality and science. It is not intended to educate only the mind, but also the heart, and to do this by giving the most conspicuous examples of magnanimity, of strength, of self-abnegation, of justice, of the holy fear of God. Now, when the school limits itself only to the culture of the mind, neglecting the education of the heart, it betrays its high mission. "Do not," said wisely a renowned author, "Do not show the child the sophist who denies, as you would not put before his eyes the barbarian who stammers and the savage who destroys. Or, if you do make him see them, do so after the fashion of Sparta, which used to show its sons intoxicated slaves in order to generate sobriety in them."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Bougaud. *Christianity and the Present Times*.

And here it is well to observe that the office of masters in the education of children, opening their minds and their hearts to the knowledge of the good and the true, is sacred, is noble, is sweet; nevertheless, this does not suffice for a Christian educator. He must base this good and this truth on the immovable basis of every truth and every goodness, which is religion. Wherefore, it has been said: *He who knows without Christ, knows nothing.*<sup>35</sup> And Tommaseo adds: *Without religion school is a germinating place for jails, and the jails are a germinating place for hell.* Lactantius had already said: "Justice is not to be found among philosophers and cannot be found save in the school of Christianity, because it alone teaches men the knowledge and the love of God, loving and supporting one another reciprocally, because all are equally the sons of God. From this fertile source are derived all the obligations of civil life and of the religious life."<sup>36</sup>

But where in our days is that Christian education, which made the people illustrious and flourishing, which civilized and ennobled the nations, which revived the sources of morality in men? Ah me! Who does not feel heart-sick at seeing the children of our people educated in a manner as if God and religion were things foreign to civilized society? "They recall," said a celebrated writer, "those sons of barbarians who from birth were immersed in boiling and frozen water, to render their skin insensible to climatic influences. The boy has been cast, turn by turn, into incredulity and into faith. He comes from the house of a father who may believe, or may be sceptical. He has seen his mother affirm and his father deny; he enters into college divided in spirit and

<sup>35</sup> Giusti. *Proverbi Toscani*. <sup>36</sup> Lact. *De Institutis*.

in tendencies. It would suit him to have two souls, and he has only one, and that one twists and lacerates itself in contrary senses. Disturbance and disorder enter into his ideas. There remains nothing but a fragment of faith, but a fragment of reason. He wonders at such contradictions. He begins to fancy that it is a great comedy which is being played before him, that society does not believe a syllable of what it teaches, that it has two faiths and two moralities; one faith and one God for children, one faith and one God for youths—perchance another faith and another God for mature men. He succumbs under this spectacle. His faith is extinguished. His reason grows cold; his mind becomes arid, and his enthusiasm is transformed either into indifference or discouragement."<sup>37</sup> In fine, under the empire of such a godless education he will end by denying everything.

And what could you expect from such a system if not incredulity? Now, this incredulity does not remain inert, but naturally drags along with it decadence of manners. "I had barely reached seven years of age," says a penitent, "and I believed in nothing. Neither in childhood nor at college had I frequented the church. My religion, if so be I had one, was without rites, without symbols, and I believed only in a God without form, without worship, without revelation. Intoxicated from youth by the writers of the last century, I had early sucked the sterile milk of impiety. Human pride, that god of the egotist, closed my mouth to prayer, the while my stupefied soul took shelter in the hopes of nothing. Who will dare to tell what then happened in the schools? Men doubted of everything; young people denied everything; poets

<sup>37</sup> Lamartine.

sang of despair; young people emerged from schools with serene brows, fresh and ruddy faces, and with blasphemy upon their lips. Hearts belied their own beauty like faded flowers. Instead of having the enthusiasm of evil, we had nothing but the renunciation of good; instead of despair, insensibility. Young people of fifteen, sitting luxuriously under flowering trees, passed away the time in discourses which would have made the immobile bushes of Versailles shudder with horror."<sup>38</sup>

This confession, which comes spontaneously from the ulcerated heart of a penitent, is only the sorrowful echo of the universal sigh of a youth betrayed and hurled into evil by means of a godless school. And, oh, torture! who does not hear this dolorous lament issuing even from the radiant hills of our Italy? Always a slave, victor or vanquished, she wills to copy the absurd systems and the blasphemous theories which come from the insane philosophers of beyond the Alps, who, shameless, dare to deny everything that is most sacred and holy upon earth! And so, as a final dishonor to our dignity as men and as Christians, we have been constrained to hear in our schools professors, amidst the applause of light-headed youth, deride the prayers of Christian virtue, outrage sane morality by destroying the fear of a Supreme Being, giving free issue to vice, leaving passions without rein, removing every remorse from the conscience. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if from the school there should issue libertine, audacious and proud young man, accustomed to every sort of vice.

"If the first time," a writer sensibly observed, "that the burning lava of Vesuvius was seen, people had been

<sup>38</sup> Alfred de Musset.

seized with a greater fear, neither Herculeum nor Pompeii would have been destroyed in a sea of fire, and the traveller who visits with emotion the remains of those extraordinary catastrophes would not read over the rubbish heaps these tardy words: "*Cavete, posteri; vestra res agitur!*"<sup>39</sup>

Gentlemen, the application is clear: If we wish an upright and studious youth, we must reform the school.

5. But let us return to this question of our young men. The time has come for him to leave school. His equipment is of the simplest in the entry he makes into society. The mind, perhaps, is adorned with notions of science and letters, but the heart has been made false and tends to become totally corrupt. With these endowments he enters into the perilous labyrinth of the world. And what does he find? A pasture land which forever whets his disorderly appetites. On every side the worst books, untruthful papers, low theatres, women without modesty, men given to shameful speculation, traitors busy with audacious projects. He observes that the tides of intrigue and deceit have risen so high as to cover even the tops of the highest summits in society. And, struck with astonishment by this strange spectacle, he knows not what to do. He observes that his country, the land of high ideals, has transformed itself into a great theatre for adventurers where there is no longer probity of life, but where intrigue, audacity, deceit and vile flattery make a man conspicuous and powerful. He hears the names of retrogrades given to those who oppose the devastating current of revolutionary ideas; those called fools who love modesty and honor, and those hypocrites and bigots who sustain the

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<sup>39</sup> E. Bougaud.

worship and the worshipers of God! Unhappy youth! Oh, how much better it would have been for him had he been born among the nomad tribes of the forests! What, oh, gentlemen, what will happen to this youth in the midst of this muddy sea, without the support of an ideal superior to these human basenesses. Will he save himself? Can he save himself? It is yours to reply, oh, parents! You who often, under the weight of disillusion, have cursed the seducers of your wretched sons. It is yours, also, to answer, oh, legislators, who, with a glacial indifference, leave open the door to the depravation of the heart, by depriving it of religious support.

#### IV.

1. Let us consider the educated man under the baleful influence of religious indifference, and let us note how very difficult it must prove for him to save himself in the midst of a universal shipwreck! There may be some persons who, touched by divine grace, will be converted. But these penitents are generally very few. As in the scene of tumult so powerfully described by Virgil, these few will hardly be distinguishable on the turbulent waves from the immense mass of the drowned. *Rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

But let us leave these few fortunate ones, who, thanks to a special grace of the Lord, may remain unharmed after traversing the ugly paths of Sodom and Gomorrha. Let us return once more, with our thought upon those who, deprived of every religious sentiment, find themselves in the midst of the world. The youth has arrived at the age to settle in life. If it seems convenient to him, he will choose a companion. Will this marriage be

happy? "In matrimony," said a celebrated writer, "there is something better than a contract. Above all there is a sacrifice, or rather two sacrifices. The woman sacrifices that which God hath given her, which is irreparable, that which forms the solicitude of her own mother, her first beauty, to wit, that power of loving, which women have only once. The man, on the other hand, sacrifices the liberty of his youth, those incomparable years which never will return. The power to consecrate himself to the girl whom he loves, which is found only at the beginning of his life, and the force of a first love, to assure her a sweet and honored destiny. Here are two vessels; in one is found beauty, modesty, innocence; in the other an untouched love, the sacrifice, the immortal consecration to her who is weaker than he; and it is necessary that these two vessels should be equally full, so that the union may be holy and that the benedictions of heaven should descend upon it."<sup>40</sup>

Such is the solemn act which married people must perform. They consecrate themselves one to the other, and each of them makes to the other a voluntary sacrifice of self. Man gives himself in perpetual union to the woman, and the woman to the man. From now on they will be two in one flesh, and joys and sorrows will be common to them. This union arises from something more sublime than the mere gratification of the senses. It comes from the heart, which is its architect and artificer.

To perform this solemn act, the most important in life, people have always had recourse to the aid of God. True Christian spouses, prostrated before the sacred altar, to have God Himself as a witness, in the presence of His

<sup>40</sup> Ozanam. *Della Civiltà nel Secolo V.*

Infinite majesty, pronounce their vows and mutually offer their hearts. And God, through the mouth of His minister, blesses this union, as once He blessed that of our progenitors in Eden, when, "won by His affection for man, His most perfect creature, He determined to make to him a first gift, and in His Infinite love gave him woman."<sup>41</sup>

Oh! our religion has known how to make sacred, holy and inviolable this contract! Who will ever dare to violate it? Who will ever dare to put asunder what God has joined together. Behold the prelude to the Christian family.

2. The newly married, as blessed children of a Celestial Father, holding engraved in their hearts the duties of their new state, thanks to the aid of divine grace, will execute them faithfully. The man will recognize in the wife his faithful companion, will love her, will respect her, and will set himself to make her happy, even at the cost of sacrificing his own life for her; in short, will love her with that intense love with which Jesus Christ loves His own Church. Besides this, he will know how to regulate the affairs of his own family in such a way that everyone will remain within the limits of his own duties, so that order and peace and prosperity may reign there. The woman, amiable as Rachel, wise as Rebecca, faithful as Sarah, will repose in safety under the protecting shadow of her husband, and chaste will be the fruits of her womb. Obedient and full of sweetness, modest and virtuous, she will love retirement, will flee from prodigality and luxury, and, intent upon her domestic duties, will so manage that economy, decency, the holy fear of

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<sup>41</sup> Donoso Cortes.



God will remain in her heart. And similarly the man, occupied in more serious labors, will find in his companion the consoling angel, and in the interior of his house his own felicity, as did the first man in the terrestrial paradise, before Eve transgressed. From such a union one cannot but expect honest and virtuous children.

The family is the basis of society. If a family be refined and virtuous, society will be refined and virtuous also. Hence, not merely domestic prosperity, but also that of the entire social body depends upon the education that is given to children. The good Christian father is a symbol, a figure of our sweet Father Who is in heaven. Christianity, which he bears impressed upon his brow as a sign of divine majesty, exacts that he should determine with all his strength that this character should not be cancelled in the life of his children. Therefore, he should educate them in a Christian manner, and they will grow wise and virtuous. And the mother? Oh, how dear, how sweet is that name! And how sublime is the mission of the Christian mother! She is the tutelary angel of the family, and it is from her that the children must learn the first lessons of piety, of purity, of honesty, of the sacred fear of God. Under her protecting shadow these young plants will grow beautiful and vigorous, and soon will produce prolific fruits of Christian virtues. Oh, ever blessed be the good Christian mother!

Such, in a few words, is the ideal of the family, as religion wishes it to be.

3. Now, who and what disturbs this sweet harmony? Who and what will dare to break the sacred ties whose sanctity, unity and indissolubility were the first laws which the Supreme Legislator of the universe imposed

upon the human family? Modern religious indifference. There is the enemy!

With a cold cynicism which makes one shudder, to-day, forgetting that matrimony, being the basis and the source of human society, must be held in the most high and sacred esteem, there are people who would deprive it of its greatest value, *the religious character*, and reduce it to a simple contract, such as is used in the sale and the purchase of an animal. Thus disappears the majesty of Christian marriage. When this most solemn of contracts, raised by Jesus Christ to the dignity of a Sacrament, is thus degraded, the consequences cannot be otherwise than disastrous to the social economy.

4. Let us return still another time to that youth whom we saw a little while ago emerge from school, with bewildered ideas; that youth who, caring little for God or for religion, throws himself into the slippery ways of a corrupt and misbelieving society. How will he behave himself in his new state of life? If religion is the soul of the family, the sun which illuminates it, the protecting angel which directs it, what will become of him, when there is lacking this soul, this light, this guide?

Will he remain faithful to his duties, that youth, who in the schools learned the myths of Venus and Mercury, but never heard speak of Jesus Christ? this youth who learned that everything is matter here below, that the senses may be allowed to follow their instincts without rein, that conscience is a valve which opens and shuts at will, that the theories of a God, of another life, of a hell, of a heaven, are inventions of priests to intimidate fools? Oh, no, a man who, through lack of religion has fallen into such an abyss, can never be either a good husband or a good father.

5. But the condition of the family becomes aggravated many times more, if to the irreligion of man is united that of woman.

A great diplomat, to show the influence that woman exerts for good or evil, says, "There is no event in this world at the bottom of which you will not come across the hands of a woman." And it is indeed true; a brief glance of history will convince us of this.

God, in this provident economy towards the human race, has willed that the nature of woman should carry within itself I know not what more of the divine than man does. Tacitus himself recognized this singularity in women when he said: *Inesse in eis quid divinum*. What is this divine impress? To me it seems to be that natural tendency towards modesty, towards gentleness, towards sweetness, towards piety. By force of this special grace, which the Provident Creator has imparted to her, do we not observe that at all times and in all places, woman is always more modest, more faithful, more affectionate, more pious than man? As a young virgin, she feels herself attracted towards candor and modesty; as a wife, affection and fidelity are the characteristics which distinguish her; as a mother, she empties her whole heart into the soul of her darling infant, to which, as she clasps it to her bosom, she communicates all the palpitation of her own soul. O! blessed is that family which has a Christian mother!

Behold the sublime and majestic figure of woman in the Gospel. Respect her, oh men, respect her! Amid stormy waves she will be for the Christian family, the anchor of salvation, the port of safety. When the father comes less to his duties, when the priest is im-

tent, the Christian woman, tender and pure, strong and wise, intrepid and prudent, courageously resists the impetus of the passions which agitate society, and saves the family from corruption. Recognize, oh, man! this her salutary influence, and see to it that the woman shall be free in her works of piety, in her religious practices; and she will make your family prosperous, causing peace to reign therein and probity and justice and the holy fear of God.

Now, take away, bit by bit, these gifts from woman, and for the majestic figure of the Catholic woman will be substituted the woman of the world—weak, vain, light—will be substituted Eve—corrupted and prevaricating. What can the family, what can society, expect from this worldly woman if not the most cruel disillusion?

Ah! I consider everything that has vitiated the world from its beginnings, I examine the most cruel catastrophes, the most precipitous falls, and I find woman at the bottom of all.

No sooner has God given form and life to the most beautiful of His creatures than woman, seduced by her ambitions, makes it fall from its high seat of glory, and covers the whole human race with mourning.<sup>42</sup>

To this first catastrophe which expelled our progenitors from the terrestrial paradise, and condemned man to eat bread in the sweat of his brow, and woman, in childbirth, to atrocious sufferings, another disaster, still more terrible, succeeded—the universal Deluge. Who provoked this divine vengeance? The daughters of men, who seduced the sons of God, answers Holy Scripture.<sup>43</sup>

And it was Hagar who disturbed the peace, the tran-

<sup>42</sup> Gen. iii.

<sup>43</sup> Genesis, vi, 4.

quillity of the home of Abraham;<sup>44</sup> Dalilah, who shamefully degraded Sampson;<sup>45</sup> the wife of Potiphar, who dared to attempt the seduction of Joseph;<sup>46</sup> Bathseba, who caused David to fall;<sup>47</sup> Jezebel, who rendered Achab impious, perjured, homicidal.<sup>48</sup> Who was it made the wisest of all men, Solomon, fall into idolatry?<sup>49</sup> Alien women. Who induced Herod to consummate the most nefarious of crimes? Herodias, who asked from him the head of the Baptist.<sup>50</sup>

And who could repeat the shameful enterprises, the atrocious misdeeds which have been consummated in the world, from that time down, by reason of women? The Messalinas, the Honorias, the Sophias, the Eudoxias, the Rosamonds and a hundred other women of similar deeds are known to every student of history.

Now what does all this prove? It proves that woman has need of God. Away from Him, her heart, naturally sensitive, delicate, loving, great, strong, is easily corrupted, becomes weak, seducing, wicked. Yes, woman needs religion, which guides her, sustains her, and directs her in the accomplishment of her high mission; and it is with the aid of religion that she will fulfill it faithfully, earning blessings and benedictions for the family and for society. But woe to that unhappy family which, besides the father, finds itself possessed of an irreligious mother, negligent in the performance of her Christian duties. The sons will grow up, but, deprived of that spiritual food which directs man in the path of truth, they

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<sup>44</sup> Gen. xvi.

<sup>45</sup> Judges xvi. 12.

<sup>46</sup> Genesis xxxix.

<sup>47</sup> Kings xi.

<sup>48</sup> Kings iii. iv.

<sup>49</sup> Matt. xiv. 8.

will fall under the control of their unbridled passions. Like a boat without a pilot they will lose themselves amid the waters of human vicissitudes, to dash themselves against some perilous rock among the many destructive ones that fill the world.

6. Oh the hard condition of a family when their reigns in it religious indifference! Here there does not dominate the high ideal of the sacred pact which renders marriage holy and indissoluble, here is not breathed the pure and sweet air of innocence, of probity, of Christian wisdom; here the child, raised in the midst of doubts about the existence of God, in the midst of contempt of holy things, does not find in life a Being sincere, perfect, wise, superior to human miseries, who will sustain him amid dangers, and at the agonizing point of death he does not see, as the good Christian sees, a consoling hand that points the way to heaven. Oh, the misfortune of a family without God!

Beloved, can that family be reformed which to-day, seized by a paroxysm which affrights one, has alienated itself from God? At sight of the many evils that afflict it, will the parents shake off their remissness? Considering the strict obligation they have before God and society, is it possible to hope that in the future they may regulate their conduct in a manner that corresponds with the loftiness of their state? God grant it, and it is well to hope that all those who style themselves Christians may determine once for all to shake off the vile yoke of human respect, and give themselves sincerely to God, the source of all good.

Yes, oh fathers of families, penetrated with the strict obligation to procure, as far as in you lies, the happiness

of your wives and of your children, manage so that in your home the fecundating light of religion may ever shine.

And you, oh women, called to so high a mission in the Christian family, in the accomplishment of your sacred duties turn your gaze towards the Virgin Mary, and from her gain strength and courage. In admiring the sanctity of her life, as a virgin, as a spouse, and as the Mother of the Divine Word, seek to imitate her. Keeping your gaze fixed upon her, in order to contemplate her in her majesty, radiating purity, with her brow encircled by a crown of stars, surrounded by angels, with her foot crushing the head of the dragon, a symbol of vice and sin, know you also how to crown yourselves with Christian virtues, trampling upon the seductions of a world, prone to demoralize the family estranged from God, the source of all good.

## V.

1. Let us take another step, and from the family turn our gaze to the social body.

Society results from the union of men formed into one body by the community of needs and aids.<sup>51</sup> God founded it, and sustains in it a harmony with a diversity of conditions.

Speaking of evils which irreligion brings upon man and the family, corrupting one and the other, I only delineated in part the sorrowful drama produced in human affairs. The corruption, which from these two putrid sources overflows the social body, completes the awful picture, covering it with the gloomiest colors.

<sup>51</sup> St. Chrysostom.

In fact, once God is banished from society, we remain without a supreme judge superior to human frailty who with equal balances weighs the actions of men, and rewards virtue and punishes vice. Remove this secure basis, it would become morally impossible to regulate rights and duties.<sup>52</sup> The questions of economy, of capital, of labor, of equity; the relations of superiors and inferiors, of rich and poor, of employers and employees are confounded, are obscured, and to justice would speedily succeed injustice, selfishness, tyranny. On this account one of the most advanced rationalists was obliged to confess that if God did not exist, He ought to be invented, so as to keep society in order; that all legislators have everywhere agreed that religion is the basis of the social edifice; that without it no society can subsist, and that with recognition of this fact Solon, Lycurgus, Xenophon, Plato, Minos, Numa, Zaleucus and Midas founded their republics.<sup>53</sup>

2. Truth is valuable, but without the leash of a supreme law, emanating from a Being superior to human passions, how would it be possible to rule and govern an association of twenty, thirty, forty millions of men, of opposing natures, opinions and interests, without the fear that selfishness, that facile aliment of discords and dissolutions, should not infiltrate itself therein?

Besides this social problem, we have another more formidable—the political problem. Here on one side is the political power, which bases its strength upon the laws that have emanated from itself. Now who will prevent it from surrendering to the most terrible of temptations, the desire for dominion which naturally forces it

<sup>52</sup> St. Clement.

<sup>53</sup> Voltaire.



towards despotism? Look, on the other hand, on a people that are tired of obeying, of working and of suffering. They look upon a man over them as an equal, and if he excites their envy they threaten to overwhelm him.

At sight of this pride, which manifests itself alike on the part of those who rule and those who should obey, and which threatens a war of extermination, what is the power that could impose itself on other souls and calm them, reclaiming each to the observance of his respective duties? Who is there that could infuse into the hearts of rulers sentiments of humanity, of justice, of moderation, of honesty; and into those of subjects of submission, of respect, of obedience, of resignation, of self-sacrifice?

3. These considerations occupied the serious thoughts of the most profound philosophers of antiquity, and all of them agreed that, rightly to regulate a social body, there was necessary an influence superior to human forces, which would impose respect and fear upon men. Plato finely expresses this idea when he says: "It is a thing conformable to truth that every time that God has not presided over the building of a city, that city could not escape the incurring of great evils." And he continues: "Therefore it is right, by all imaginable means, to imitate the primitive order—allying ourselves to everything that is immortal in man, we must found houses as we found states, submitting them to the laws of a supreme will and intelligence."

Xenophon wrote: "Cities and states dedicated to the cult of the divine have always been the wisest and the most enduring, just as in the same way the most religious centuries have been the centuries most illustrious through their genius." Socrates wisely observes: "To govern

well, the knowledge of God is more important than the knowledge of physical things." And Pindar, with sublime poetical inspiration, also places God at the foundation of every well-ordered society.

But why should I dwell on quotations from these and other illustrious men? Is not all the history of pagan antiquity a most evident proof that the wisest and most cultivated races always had religion as their basis? The example of the Roman Empire is above all valuable. What was the potent lever that raised it to such glory? "Thanks," answers Cecilius in his arraignment of Octavius, "thanks to the piety of its citizens, the power of Rome has propagated itself over the entire universe, the empire of the sovereign people has extended itself beyond the country which the sun illuminates with its rays, its staunchest bulwarks were the worship of the gods, the chastity of its virgins, its zeal in honoring and multiplying the ministers of religion. We have seen it seated in the precincts of its capitol, the single entrenchment not yet fallen into the power of the victorious enemy, continuing its prayers to those same gods who seem to have declared themselves against it, and whom everyone else would have wished to punish with contempt for having abandoned it, and from this sacred post oppose to the fury of the Gauls, for all armament, the worship of religion."<sup>64</sup>

Behold the genius of antiquity in all its religious beauty, even though debased by superstition and false faiths. Well did those sages know that society finds only in God the true idea of power, of justice, of right, of duties and of liberty, and in His religion the guide for

<sup>64</sup> Minutius Felix.

probity of manners, honesty of life, rectitude of judgments, for the virtue of obedience, of resignation, of self-sacrifice. Without God, without religion, rights would lose their basis, duties their sanction, sacrifices their motives. Banish God and social confidence is shaken, justice is overpowered by selfishness, liberty by arrogance, and society must necessarily fall into the devouring abyss either of despotism or of anarchy.

4. Now, if the creeds of antiquity achieved all this, even though clouded with superstitions and fallacies, what a potent help has modern society in the Christian religion, a true emanation from God, the glorious conqueror of paganism, the source of civilization and greatness. Her history is a harmonious mingling of glories and of triumphs. Under its protecting shadow there have reposed, for centuries, the chief nations of the earth. Coruscating with divine light, she gives soul, and life, and strength to the state which possesses and venerates her. See that solitary rock in the vast ocean. The tempestuous breakers, roaring, attack it assault it, shake it repeatedly; but always beaten and broken, they dissolve into foaming and innocuous waters. That rock is the symbol of a state protected and sustained by faith. However, often assaulted by the continuous clash of human passions it remains always firm under the protecting ægis of that God who has said: *Hitherto thou shalt come and shall go no further.*

This resistance, which is a sign of life, of prosperity, of vigor in a nation, made the celebrated Montesquieu exclaim: "How admirable the Christian religion, which seems to have as its object only our happiness in the next world, yet secures our happiness also in this."

<sup>11</sup> Job xxxviii. 11.

5. It is true, Christianity, besides its final aim, which is eternal happiness, for its own members, conduces also to the social order and to the prosperity of the nations.

As a proof of this, let us take up other considerations; let us cast a rapid glance at the great problem which to-day more than ever keeps society convulsed—**WEALTH!**

Yes, wealth is the point at which to-day all eyes are centred. And regarding wealth the following questions are put with anxious expectation:

1. How can it be produced so as to be sufficient for the needs of life?
2. How can it be distributed with equity?
3. What use can we put it to, so that it will prove useful and salutary?<sup>56</sup>

These are the three queries which in our times present themselves to statesmen, full of difficulties and of dangers. But in vain! Amid all their various projects and their inefficacious laws, the most terrible of calamities—*social anarchy*—is advancing with great strides.

Gentlemen, who will save himself out of this devastating flood, by solving one after the other the problems proposed concerning wealth?

*Solutio omnium difficultatum Christus Jesus*, said Origen. Yes, Religion alone, with her infallible laws, can address herself to the task of overcoming the difficulties which to-day so agitate the different social classes. In fact, she alone easily answers the queries propounded.

1. *She assures the production of wealth with the principle of proprietorship.*

The celebrated corypheus of modern socialism, Proudhon, said *Property is theft*. Now, against this audacious

<sup>56</sup> M. Berseaux. *La Chiesa e lo Stato*.

doctrine, subversive of the social order, stands as a bulwark the holy law of God, which makes property sacred and inviolable.

No, capital is not really the vampire of society, nor the famisher of the people, nor the impoverisher of labor, as some would fain have the lower classes believe; it is the accumulated fruit of labor. Hence property is legitimate, and the possessor has a right to dispose of it as best pleases him.

This right is not only sacred, but of absolute necessity for the social economy, inasmuch as how could we ever expect a man to devote himself to labor if he were not certain of being able to enjoy the fruit of his labor? In such case, at the uttermost, each might feel himself forced to work just so much as would suffice to sustain him, leaving to others the task of producing more than is necessary. Wherefore if work were minimized, there would be less industry, the source of wealth.

Now, this right of property is fully sanctioned in the divine laws. God, who assigned Eden to our progenitors,<sup>57</sup> Abel who enjoyed the fruits of his flocks, and Cain those of his lands,<sup>58</sup> Lot and Abraham, extremely wealthy proprietors, who, to avoid contests, divide their herds of cattle, and each enjoys the fruit of his riches, with the benedictions of the Lord, and a hundred other examples which may be found in the Sacred Books, are proofs more than sufficient that Religion recognizes the right of property to be sacred and inviolable. Therefore it ranks idleness among capital sins, sending the sluggard to the ant,<sup>59</sup> and condemns him who robs his neighbor. Now

<sup>57</sup> Gen. ii. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Prov. vi. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Gen. iv. 2.

that the vindicating sword of God is placed on guard over property, who will dare to touch it without fear of His judgments?

2. *Religion determines the principles of an equitable division of riches.*

This equitable division exacts that goods and duties be distributed according to the merits and the forces of men. Here it is necessary to note that, although all men are equal, being all dowered with the same nature, none the less there is a great difference in regard to physical, mental and moral forces. These inequalities form an immense gradation in the physical as well as in the intellectual order. In fact, one man is well formed, another is defective; one is strong, another is weak; this one is full of energy, that other is indolent, slothful, lazy. Not less are the disproportions in mental and moral gifts. One is intelligent, the other is slow of wit; one is virtuous, the other is given to vices; there is he who is economical, and there is he who early gives himself up to profligacy; one is good and virtuous, the other is wicked.

In view of so many and such great diversities of character, of intellect, of strength, how bring about an equitable distribution of wealth? *Unicuique suum*, answers Religion. To each his own. The man of high culture will produce works superior to those of a simple peasant; greater, therefore, should be his reward. The honest man is to be preferred to the vicious, the industrious to the lazy. Accordingly, diversity of aptitude will produce diversity of labors, and diversity of labors diversity of remuneration. Here is no injustice, but a harmonious gradation which keeps industry awake and society alive.

3. *But how may riches be used so as to be useful and salutary?*

Before the coming of Jesus Christ the germ of every virtue lay sterile in hearts which were generally governed by brutal selfishness. He revived that germ, withdrawing man from the slavery into which he had fallen, and exalting him to that equality of nature which existed in the day of his creation. "Thou shalt love," said the Divine Redeemer, "the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, AND THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF."<sup>60</sup>

Here is a full explanation of those words of St. Paul: *Fiat aequalitas*.<sup>61</sup> Charity, the daughter of Christianity, has formed an equality among men, by means of the holy chain of love. She remembers that whatever may be our position in society, we are none the less *all brothers*, for one is your father, who is in heaven.<sup>62</sup>

O consoling doctrine of Religion, to whose height human philosophy could never have attained.

These sacred links established among men, it is easy now to regulate the use that should be made of riches.

Ye rich, this is what the Lord says to you. *If riches abound set not your heart upon them.*<sup>63</sup>

Be generous towards those who, bending under the weight of fatigue, increase your treasures! Do not seek to defraud your employees of their just wages, but load them with your solicitude and your affection. Ah, me! how often the wealthy wander from that path traced for them by God, and make the worst use of their riches, exciting thus not only the anger of the Lord, but also that of the poor, oppressed with work! That is why Antoine Leroy Beaulieu was quick to attribute to the wealthy

<sup>60</sup> Matt. xxii. 37-39.

<sup>61</sup> 2 Cor. viii. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Matt. xxiii. 9.

<sup>63</sup> Psalm lxi. c. 11.

the evolution of socialism, because not a few among them really pass the time in luxury, in the salons, in illicit pleasures, often, also, flaunting an irritating luxury, and without ever taking account of those who work for them! Ah! if the charity of Jesus Christ found lodgment in their hearts there would not have to be deplored so much waste as occurs in the world.

Oh, ye wealthy, recognize in the sons of toil so many brethren of yours. *Love them*, Peter tells you. *Forbear threatenings*,<sup>64</sup> adds St. Paul. You have a special mission to fulfill. The peasants, the working people entrusted to your care form your little kingdom. You must, therefore, guide them with wisdom. Be less indifferent towards them. You must pay more attention to them, offering them sane counsels, and induce them to become honest and virtuous, even after the good example set by yourself. You must never defraud them of their just wages. Master means father. Your benevolence will render them affectionate and faithful. In contact with that rough hand, you will have nothing to lose, and you will give a beginning to that much desired peace between labor and capital.

As it is the duty of the rich to place a rein upon the ill-regulated love of riches and to disburse them with equity and wisdom, so it should be the task of the middle classes to abandon the mania of wishing to rise without measuring their own force. St. Paul exhorts us to content ourselves with that little which we have, and render thanks, therefore, to the Lord.

That insane desire which manifests itself in our day, to wish to change conditions, that mania of yearning for

<sup>64</sup> Ephes. vi. 9.



positions superior to one's own rank, is matter for reproof, and it has created a host of apostates which infests society. Furthermore, although it is just that an awakened intelligence should not deny itself the right to secure itself in a position more cultured and more elevated, nevertheless one cannot but deplore the almost general mania to leave the country, the workshop, the store, to yearn for positions superior to one's own rank, a thing which injures labor and consequently destroys the flower of the nation.

Beside this mania for changing conditions, the life which the workman lives often leads to disasters and misery because it is not in keeping with his own rank. That wish to emulate the rich in luxury of dress and mode of living, that aversion to labor, to economy, to sobriety, that claim to exaggerated wages, are things highly reprobable, and are condemned by the holy laws of God. Labor, industry, economy, sobriety, and honest and virtuous life are the factors of wealth, and the man whom these adorn will not lack an honest livelihood.

Oh, if Religion had its fullest dominion over the heart of the master and the workman, what a harmonious concert might be established in the social economy!<sup>65</sup> Therefore, wisely has it been said, "Put the Gospel back in its place, and the question between capital and labor will be solved."

6. Now, who is it that breaks these solemn ties? Who is it that frequently instigates the workman to rebel against his fate and throw off the yoke of labor? With grave anguish of heart, we must confess that very often the wealthy themselves are the fatal cause of these dis-

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<sup>65</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 6, seqq.

orders, because, if not actually misbelieving, at least they show themselves so indifferent to all religious practices that, with their bad example, they alienate the people from the holy fear of God.

Take away religion, that portentous lever which enables man to sustain the unpleasant things of life with the hope of a happier future beyond the tomb, and what remains to incite him to work? Are a morsel of bread, an humble hut, a hard bed of straw, are these indeed a just recompense for his arduous fatigues? But, do you not see, oh selfish one, that this degraded creature has a being as noble as your own? Why are you in opulence and he in poverty? Why are you among joyful guests, and luxurious pleasures, on feather beds, and he starved, weary and bent under the perennial burden of his labor? If there be no God, no religion, and consequently no future life, what compensation can you promise to this man, laden with a thousand sufferings, which will permit him to contemplate life without rebelling against society, by which he believes himself to be disinherited? Oh, that so much applauded human philosophy, which rebels against religion, has not yet known how to solve this arduous problem, and the violent struggle between capital and labor already gives sinister indications of a destructive tempest.

Oh, Religion, thou alone canst calm the soul and conduct men on the path of charity and justice. Yes, thou alone canst bring secure comfort to the man who suffers. When, bent under the weight of labor, he curses property, calling it theft, you piously correct him, and pointing to heaven, you can say to him, "See, oh, man, how beautiful is Paradise! It is made for you! Is not this a compensation for a thousand wearinesses greater than yours?

Therefore, bear willingly the troubles of life, and one day you will be richer, more contented, more happy than it is possible for you to conceive."

What sovereign power is enclosed in those principles which religion inspires. At the voice of the Nazarene who says, "*Beati qui lugent, quoniam et ipsi consolabuntur*;" "Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted,"<sup>66</sup> the wearied soul revives, and it would seem that a sweet balsam healed its wounds. Man no longer considers himself alone, derelict, disinherited. His Father, Who is in Heaven, loves him, recognizes him as a son. Whoever he be, he will enjoy the abundance of his riches. Oh, who can ever deny the most potent force of religion in the social order? Love her, ye rich, and make her respected by your employees.<sup>67</sup>

## VI.

1. From what has been said it results that without religion man is brutalized, the family decays, society dissolves, rulers become proud and despotic; subjects, arrogant and disobedient, the scales of justice, without a Supreme Judge, vacillate in the hands of the magistrate; honesty gives way to intrigue and to corruption; the most cunning is the richest; the strongest is the most successful. And thus, selfishness triumphing over right, as Robespierre has said, "human society will become like a struggle of craftiness; success, the test of the just and the unjust; property, an affair of good taste and of con-

<sup>66</sup> Matt. v. 4.

<sup>67</sup> The Supreme Pontiff, Leo XIII, in the middle of his Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*, traced with a master hand the plan to establish a just equilibrium between capital and labor.

venience; the world the patrimony of the shrewdest scoundrels."

Oh, foolish is that people, therefore, which, deprived of the guidance of religion, goes wandering in doubt far away from God! Like the ungrateful people of Israel in the immensity of the desert, it goes in search of a tent in which to repose and can find none. Beloved! the mournful events of the past May, which brought us without premonition almost to the edge of an abyss, may give us some salutary lessons. And a terrible lesson, truly, it should be to those who until now have shown themselves so eager to destroy religion, the one remedy against social anarchy!

Why delude ourselves any further? If we are truly anxious for the good of our country, we must have the courage to confess that we not only have gone too far forward, but also that we must retrace our steps without delay. It is necessary to put society back upon the basis of the Gospel, which is the sole safe principle of order, because it is the source of truth. It is the most valuable means of which a state can avail itself to oppose a reign of libertinism, and bring back health to the schools, the fountains of society, now become in great part instruments for the irreligious and anti-social propaganda.

2. Perhaps it is unseemly to travel back on the road. "*The first step to attain wisdom,*" says Lactantius, "*is that of recognizing one's own error. The second is to dedicate oneself to the truth.*"<sup>68</sup> If it is human to fall it is not human to remain in the dust. And the need of this our solicitous repentance grows all the greater in the same degree that to remain inert would increase

• <sup>68</sup> Latt. *De Historiis Deor.*

the mass of evils which oppress us. Let us not flatter ourselves! If we wish to have life it is necessary to do away with everything which the philosophy of facts proves to have been evilly done. Herein abides the true love of country! To admit that we have mistaken the road, that barricades, petroleum, dynamite, slaughter, which have plunged us into gloom, are the fatal consequences of immorality, and result from religious indifference; that those "furies in the shape of ferocious women, of impudent young girls, of frenzied boys, who in the streets of Milan, sought to defy the soldiery and cover them with curses," are the fruit of our Godless schools, and then not to provide a proper remedy would be to betray our most sacred duties. To recognize that society, without religious support, becomes an agglomeration of people without principles, without moral life, without force, which merely draws upon itself the stupid laughter of fools and which leads directly to the final stage of social dissolution; to be persuaded that the religious indifference under which the greater part of our people labor to-day, is the most terrible chastisement which God can inflict upon a nation, and yet not to bestir ourselves, not to alter our direction, is a want of common sense, is a rebellion against the laws of every sane logic, is treason to the sacred mission which a Christian and a citizen bears to his country.

3. But what will be the consequences of this fatal perversion? So long as man, broken by labor, and weakened with hunger, becomes comforted with the hope of a better life beyond the tomb; so long as woman in despair beats her breast, prostrate before the image of the Virgin, there is nothing to fear for the social order. But banish this potent ideal of faith, extinguish the hope

of heaven and then that man becomes a ferocious lion, that woman a cruel tiger. Their bellows against order and property will shake the masses, avid of blood. In order to provide a barrier to the devastating waves, every moral force having been spent, it will be necessary to have recourse to the most cruel of expedients, to armed force. Now, however necessary this may be, it will always be a shame, a disgrace, for a civilized people. Nor in repression by force can one hope for anything durable, for the wild beast, whose fury is strained by the chains that bind it will become prouder and more terrible on the day when it can break them.

Therefore, it is necessary to confess our folly in having wandered away from religion, the most powerful moral curb. Armed with holy courage and fervent zeal, let us attempt to re-establish all which we have thoughtlessly dared to destroy. We must restore religion to honor.

In order to accomplish this work of restoration it is necessary that, abandoning all human respect, the cultured class should put itself at the head of the movement, openly professing the faith as befits good Christians, and putting in practice the divine precepts. And the most efficacious means to reaffirm courage and a vacillating will is to hold before our eyes the great harm that is done by estranging ourselves from God, and the certain remedy which religion lends us, to free ourselves from the evils sustained.

Yes, faith alone, which in the midst of the vicissitudes of life lifts the spirit to the contemplation of the divine decrees and holds it firm upon the path of rectitude, can save us. Look at man, even from the cradle he begins

to weep. His life is a network of joys and sorrows, though it is the sorrows which mostly prevail. Who will sustain him in the midst of the tempestuous sea of his own passions? Who will give him strength to escape the snares which surround him? Faith. Yes, faith alone can save him, by placing before his eyes the grand end for which he was created, and recalling to his mind the penalties and the rewards of a future life. Animated with these salutary principles, be his condition illustrious or obscure, poor or rich, it matters little. If he suffers, he feels the courage to conquer and to triumph. Wearied, afflicted, oppressed, desolate, unknown by the world, he, in the bitterness of his soul, discovers a consoling medicine, a salutary balm in his religion, which dissipates the black spectres that would fain make life odious to him. Fixing his gaze upon the sky, he prostrates himself and prays. He weeps, but his tears are the effect of a heart moved to tenderness, because he feels himself irresistibly impelled to leave his fate in the hands of a Friend whose love for him is infinite.

4. Oh, prodigies of faith! Speak, therefore, speak! you who, through the iron bars of a horrid prison found comfort in this faith! Speak, and illuminate with your science the philosophers of our days, and those who esteem it degrading to believe and to pray. "Christianity," he says, "instead of undoing all the good that philosophy might have done for me, confirms it, increases its value with higher and more potent reasons." And he continues: "To live free is very much better than to live in prison. Who can doubt it? Nevertheless, even in the misery of a jail, when one thinks that God is present, that the joys of the world are fleeting, that the true good

is in the conscience and not in exterior objects, I can still with pleasure endure life."<sup>69</sup>

What would you respond, oh men of little faith, to these wise and profound reflections of one of our most illustrious writers and sincerest patriots, by you rightly loved and honored? As you see, I put before you no anchorite who might dismay you; but a man full of faith and burning with sublime ideals for his country. Perhaps you have not yet experienced as he did the disillusionings and the bitternesses which might induce you to give yourselves up to God. Perhaps you are not yet convinced that the flowers of pleasure soon wither, that without God everything is deceitful, everything is vanity, everything is corruption here below? What do you await in order to reform? Oh, in presence of so much hardness, allow me to shed tears of sorrow and repeat with the great St. Gregory of Nazianzen, "Why have I not the wings of a dove or of a swallow? With what swiftness would I not flee from commerce with mortals? I would go to live in the depths of a desert, with beasts more faithful than men. There, at least, my days would pass without agitations, without embarrassments, without annoyances. There putting to profit that reason which was given me, and not to brutes, to know the Divine and raise myself to heaven, I would taste the sweetnesses of tranquil life in the bosom of contemplation. There, making my voice re-echo as from an eminence, I would cry to the inhabitants of the earth, 'Men condemned to death! Beings of a moment, you who living only to be the prey of the tomb, consume yourselves in vain illusions, how long, oh victims of error, and the sport each of the other, will you dream in full

<sup>69</sup> Silvio Pellico. *Le mie Prigioni*.



day? and how long will you bear in this world the chains of your errors'? "70

V. Gentlemen, you to whom I have had the pleasure of specially addressing my words on this occasion, think upon what I have just said to you and I will have done. See you that poor old woman who, in her great ignorance, prostrate before the altar, beats her breast and prays? She is wiser, she is more prudent than many wise men who do not believe. Question her about the profoundest mysteries of life; she will know how to answer better than a large number of literati. She can tell you for what end she was placed in the world, what should be the tenor of her life before God, the family and society, that she must avoid evil and do good. She will tell you "that the soul is immortal, that the body will perish, but that from amidst its ruins the soul will take flight, to live forever, to appear at the foot of the tribunal of the Supreme Judge, and to receive from the mouth of Jesus Christ the sentence of immortal punishment or reward which her works have deserved." Animated with these thoughts, she leaves, at the foot of the altar, her sorrows, her anxieties, her afflictions, and returns comforted and contented to her little hut, or her little farm.

What an enormous contrast between this simple creature and certain strong minds of our times, who, deprived of religion, blow out their brains in presence of the first obstacle, or live a life continually troubled by uncertainty, by lost hopes, by vanished pleasures, by unsatisfied ambitions, by remorse, by disillusion. Ah! thus you see that the true philosophy, which conduces to present and future happiness, must be learnt at the foot of the cross. Happy

<sup>70</sup> St. Gregory of Nazianzen. *Delle Vicende di sua Vita*.

are those who, contrite and humble, know how to enjoy it. Learn ye also, most beloved children, this same philosophy. Restore religion to a place of honor, loving her, and demonstrating with your good works her truth, her beauty, her sanctity, her glory, and thus our fallen hopes will be raised again. The rich man will be respected in his property; the laborer will have his just wages, and will tranquilly repose his tired limbs in the sweetness of his own household. Harmony will gladden the association of men, and in the shops, in the schools, in reunions, there will no longer be heard the subversive cry which excites to class hatred, to murder, to revenge, but there will resound those sweet words of love and of peace, of the Apostle John: "*Let us love one another, since Charity comes from God. If we mutually love one another God will be with us.*"<sup>71</sup> And so Holy Mother Church, who with her splendors has put to flight the darkness of barbarism, and abundantly diffused over the whole of our Italy her gifts of faith and of civilization, will once more with her potent light illuminate modern society, so that it may not perish in error.

Oh, may God will that with the dawn of the new century which is approaching with great strides, there may arise for us a new era, sincerely Christian, most devoted to our Holy Mother Church, and to the great Vicar of Jesus Christ, who rules and governs it.

And may the God of hope pour out upon you every joy and the peace of faith, that you may abound in hope and in virtue in the holy spirit.

Matera, Sunday of Septuagesima, 1899.

FR. DIOMEDE, *Archbishop.*

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<sup>71</sup> John iv. 7-12.

# **Irish University Education**

**A Letter to His Excellency  
The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland**

**by the**

**REV. WILLIAM DELANY, S. J.**

**President of University College, Dublin**



## **Irish University Education—Note**

ON the 30th of December, 1903, the Governing Body of Queen's College, Belfast, addressed a Memorial to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which—having set forth with much power the claims of that institution for increased aid from the public funds—they urged that the consideration of those claims ought not to be postponed until the more difficult question of Irish University Education should be dealt with in its entirety.

I have long admired the excellent work that has been done in Queen's College, Belfast, by distinguished scholars, with many of whom during the past twenty years, my colleagues at University College have been associated in perfect harmony and amity on the Boards of Examiners of the Royal University; I am thoroughly aware of the great need—the absolute, urgent need there is in a great centre of industrial and commercial life such as Belfast—of a teaching institution fully equipped to keep pace with modern scientific developments, if Belfast is to hold its own in the struggle—daily growing keener—of industrial and commercial progress; and I believe that all Ireland would be the richer for the existence of such an institution. But, whilst I, therefore, sympathise most cordially with the perfectly legitimate desire of the Governing Body of Queen's College to have that College thus suitably equipped and endowed, I am, and have been for many years too painfully familiar with the much more urgent educational needs of the Catholics of Ireland to

assent to the proposition that the claims of Belfast Queen's College are fairly entitled to prior consideration.

And, therefore, when this Memorial was brought to my notice early in January, I felt it my duty, as a representative of Catholic educational interests, to submit to the Lord Lieutenant a respectful protest against the granting of such a priority, and to set forth the arguments on which I base that protest; and accordingly I wrote the letter which is here reprinted with some verbal alterations.

In order that the letter might not be unduly lengthened I omitted some important points, which I add now in an Appendix; but in the Appendix, as in the letter, I confine myself to the same simple issue: *a plea for equal treatment and educational fair play.*

WILLIAM DELANY, S.J.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

February, 1904.

# IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

## A LETTER

To His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant,

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM DELANY, S.J.

*President of University College, Dublin.*

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MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have seen in a Belfast newspaper a copy of a Memorial recently addressed to your Excellency by the Governing Body of Queen's College, Belfast, on which I feel it my duty, as President of this College, to submit respectfully for your Excellency's consideration the following observations:—

1. I may say at once that (prescinding from other aspects of the question, and speaking solely from the educational point of view), with the substance and main purpose of the Memorial I am personally in cordial agreement. As a Senator of the Royal University for nearly twenty years, and engaged as I have been for twice that time in education, I am well acquainted with the extent and the quality of the educational work of Queen's College, Belfast; and I entirely concur in the favorable judgment of that work expressed by the recent University Commission, and in their recommendations that in any new University scheme "a liberal addition should be made to the general endowment of

the College." I believe that it would conduce very largely, indeed, not only to the benefit of Belfast and of the Northern province, but to the industrial improvement of the whole country, that there should exist in Belfast a great University College, adequately endowed and thoroughly equipped to meet the requirements of modern scientific and industrial development; and I agree with the authorities of Queen's College that the present endowment and equipment fall very short of these requirements; and that it is, therefore, a matter of pressing urgency that adequate provision should be made for that purpose.

But, whilst I so far concur most cordially in the substance of the Memorial, when it is further suggested that the claims of Belfast Queen's College should be at once separately dealt with on their own merits, and should not be held over for consideration as part of a scheme for reorganising Irish University Education, I feel it my duty, as President of University College, to enter a respectful protest against the adoption of such a course of action.

And I do so on the plain and simple issue of educational fair play and of the equitable and economic distribution of public educational funds, setting aside for the moment all the other considerations of public policy that are involved in the University Question, or that relate to the manner of its solution.

I submit that if a record of good work done under some disadvantages, and the demand of a great community to have the institution doing that work made adequate to their wants and suitable to the educational necessities of the times—if these conditions constitute a just claim for urgency in dealing with Belfast Queen's



College, I submit that the record of work done in University College under much graver disadvantages, and the demand of the far larger community which it represents, to have provided for *them* an educational institution adequate to *their* wants and suitable to present educational requirements, constitute a much more valid and equitable claim for urgency in dealing with the whole Irish University Question.

Here are the facts and figures on which I rest that argument, and to which I respectfully ask attention.

I assume—as an admitted principle of equitable, economic administration of public educational funds—that the endowments granted to public teaching institutions should bear some reasonable proportion to the quantity and quality of the educational work which they accomplish; that institutions which have proved their success should be fostered and developed; and that where institutions after years of trial have proved a failure, the public funds should no longer be wasted on them.

Bearing this principle in mind, I proceed to apply it to the present distribution of public funds on higher education in Ireland. Apart from Trinity College, with its income of £38,000 a year,<sup>1</sup> there are four Colleges for higher education endowed from public funds; the three Queen's Colleges and University College, Dublin. The Queen's Colleges receive a yearly grant of £21,000 from the Consolidated Fund, and additional grants under various heads in the yearly estimates. The estimates for the past three years, 1901-2-3, show that the total expenditure on the three Colleges in these years amounted

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, page 286, with regard to Trinity College.

respectively to £34,098, £34,916, £34,966; and this last sum, £34,966, is also the estimate for the current year 1903-4. If we add to these sums the charge involved in the original outlay of £100,000 on buildings and equipment—equivalent to £3,000 a year—we find that the total expense to the taxpayers of the United Kingdom amounts, roughly, to £38,000 a year, or over £12,600 for each College. Along with the Faculty of Arts—which is the main element of Higher Culture in a University—each of these Colleges has Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, and Law; but a comparatively small portion of the funds is expended on these Faculties. If we allow £2,600 for that purpose in each College—a liberal allowance—we find that the Arts Faculty in each of these Colleges is maintained at an expense of £10,000 a year; of that sum more than \$1,000 a year in each College is allocated to providing Scholarships, Exhibitions, and prizes in the Faculty of Arts open exclusively to the students of the College; who, notwithstanding, have been, and are at present, permitted also to compete for (and if successful to hold conjointly) the Scholarships, Exhibitions, and prizes of the Royal University against students from Colleges which have no such provisions made for them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> And this is allowed to take place although there is, in the Act of Parliament, an express enactment that provision should be made to prevent such joint holding, and although, when the question was raised in the House of Commons, Sir Lyon Playfair replied on the part of the Government:—“*It is not true that the students of Queen's Colleges can add Royal Scholarships or Exhibitions to those which they already possess. If an undergraduate at a Queen's College gains an Exhibition at the Royal University, he must elect which he will hold, for he cannot hold both. They, therefore, have no advantage over any other undergraduate. Plain words, are they not? But, as a matter of fact, the Queen's College students do hold both, in the teeth of that declaration, and of what seems the plain meaning of the cause in the Act of Parliament.*”

University College has only an Arts Faculty, and receives no endowment from the State. The Senate of the Royal University out of its income of £20,000 a year, derived from the Irish Church Fund, established in 1882 twenty-eight Fellowships, with a maximum salary of £400 a year. The primary duty of these Fellows is to act as Examiners in the Royal University itself; but they are also required to give their services in teaching in a College appointed by the Senate. Of these Fellowships nine were allocated to University College; some years later the number was increased to fourteen, and, on the establishment of a Fellowship in Celtic, to fifteen.

Allowing £100 a year each for the work which these Fellows do as Examiners in the Royal University, the remaining £300 represents the salary given to them for their teaching work in University College, which became thus indirectly endowed (but under conditions open to very grave objections) to the extent of £4,500 a year. Beyond that sum the College has no endowment of any kind; no provision for buildings or equipment; for rent, taxes, or maintenance; for salaries for the President and other executive officers; for scholarships, exhibitions, and prizes.

The four Colleges, thus unequally aided from the public funds, adapt their courses of study to the programmes of the Royal University; the Presidents of the Colleges have a place on the Senate; the main body of the Examiners of the University are Professors in the Colleges; a Professor of University College and a Professor from a Queen's College (aided in the Higher Examinations by extern specialists), prepare conjointly the examination papers and mark the answers, and they sit conjointly at the oral examinations; and the students

of the four Colleges (along with many others from Colleges which receive no State aid at all), compete annually at the University Examinations.

The results of these Examinations are published in the newspapers and in the University calendars; and these results give a fair measure of the quality and quantity of the work done in the several Colleges in the various branches of Higher Education.

The Registrar of University College has prepared from the yearly calendars a comparative analysis of the results obtained by students of the four Colleges in the Arts Examinations of the past ten years from 1894 to 1903, inclusive, and has furnished me with the following Tables:—

1st. The total number of Prizes, Honours, and Distinctions gained respectively by the students of the four endowed Colleges in that period.

2d. The number of First Class Honours, Prizes, and Distinctions gained in the same period; and

3d. The numbers of First Class Classical Honours and of First Class Exhibitions (£42) at the B.A. Honours Examinations, and of Studentships (£300) at the M.A. Examinations, obtained in the same ten years in all the branches of secular learning.

1st—Total Number of Distinctions on the whole Course.

| Yearly Endowments<br>for<br>Arts Faculties. | 1894. | 1895. | 1896. | 1897. | 1898. | 1899. | 1900. | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | Total. |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| £4,500 University<br>College.....           | 87    | 81    | 87    | 82    | 77    | 55    | 57    | 63    | 65    | 50    | 704    |
| £10,000 Queen's<br>Coll., Belfast.....      | 72    | 79    | 74    | 63    | 65    | 70    | 67    | 58    | 40    | 44    | 632    |
| £10,000 Queen's<br>Coll., Galway....        | 48    | 25    | 14    | 25    | 14    | 18    | 32    | 26    | 23    | 24    | 249    |
| £10,000 Queen's<br>Coll., Cork.....         | 12    | 15    | 5     | 7     | 3     | 2     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 6     | 65     |

## 2nd—First Class Distinctions only.

|                                |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |     |    |    |     |
|--------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-----|
| £4,500 University College..... | 45 | 37 | 47 | 49 | 40 | 32  | 33  | 31  | 26 | 34 | 374 |
| £30,000.....                   |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |     |    |    |     |
| Queen's College, Belfast.....  | 29 | 34 | 18 | 20 | 28 | 27  | 28  | 25  | 19 | 14 | 242 |
| Queen's College, Galway.....   | 8  | 8  | 2  | 11 | 5  | 10  | 9   | 17  | 11 | 5  | 86  |
| Queen's College, Cork.....     | 6  | 4  | 2  | 2  | 1  | ... | ... | ... | 2  | 3  | 20  |
|                                |    |    |    |    |    |     |     |     |    |    | 348 |

3rd—TABLE showing that from 1894 to 1903 in the highest examinations and in all the branches of secular learning, University College competed successfully against the three Queen's Colleges together.

In the year 1897 no First Class Honours in Classics were awarded at the B.A. Honours Examination. In the other nine years, 1894-1903 twenty-two First Class Honours in all were awarded in Classics, and with these comparative results:—

|                          | 1st Place. | 2nd Place. | 3rd Place. | 4th Place. | Total. |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|--------|
| University College.....  | 7          | 6          | 2          | 0          | 15     |
| Queen's College, Belfast | 2          | 2          | 0          | 1          | 5      |
| Queen's Coll., Galway..  | 0          | 1          | 0          | 0          | 1      |
| Queen's College, Cork..  | 0          | 0          | 1          | 0          | 1      |

Of the £42 B.A. Prizes in the same period, University College won 30; the three Queen's Colleges 29; (Belfast, 22, Galway 6, Cork 1).

Of the Studentships (£300) in the same period, University College won 14; the three Queen's Colleges 13; (Belfast 10, Galway 1, Cork 2); and these Studentships were awarded in the following subjects:—

|                           | Classics. | Mental Science. | Mathematics. | History and Political Science. | Experimental Science. | Modern Literature. | Total. |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------|
| University College.....   | 3         | 4               | 3            | 2                              | 1                     | 1                  | 14     |
| Queen's Coll., Belfast .. | 1         | 2               | 4            | 1                              | 2                     | —                  | 10     |
| Queen's Coll., Galway..   | —         | —               | —            | —                              | 1                     | —                  | 1      |
| Queen's Coll., Cork ....  | —         | —               | 1            | —                              | —                     | 1                  | 2      |
|                           |           |                 |              |                                |                       |                    | 13     |

I may add that the only two Studentships in Biological Science ever awarded by the University—the only two Gold Medals ever awarded for Latin Verse, and four of the six Gold Medals for English Prose Composition, were won by Students of University College.<sup>3</sup>

In face of these figures, I fail to see how the request of Belfast Queen's College for priority of treatment can be maintained.

Still more do I fail to see on what grounds—educational, economical or political—can the expenditure of £23,000 a year on the Colleges of Cork and Galway

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, pages 296, 300. Copies of tables which had been submitted to the University Commission, showing that University College received a larger number of the most brilliant boys from the Intermediate Examinations than Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges.

in their present condition be defended either in Parliament or elsewhere?<sup>4</sup>

In face of these facts and figures I may ask, too, what becomes of the charges so flippantly made of "limitations of thought?" of "clerical obscurantism" with regard to scientific teaching; of the "danger of low standards in a Catholic College or University?"

In addition to such charges, the phrases, "sectarian exclusiveness," "clerical seminary," "episcopal domination," "monastic training," and the like, are made to play an important part in discussions on the Irish University Question. I, therefore, venture to add a few words on the position and character of University College, compared, for instance, with Queen's College, Belfast.

"SECTARIAN EXCLUSIVENESS" AND "MINGLING  
OF CREEDS"?

(a) Like the Catholic University, which preceded it, University College is open to students of all denominations; and has now, and has had for the past twenty years, a much larger percentage of non-Catholic students attending its classes than Belfast Queen's College has ever had of Catholics.

I may note in this connection, that it is frequently alleged that the grant made by the Irish Parliament for the establishment of the College of Maynooth was given for the common education of laymen and of clerics, and that the Bishops excluded, not only the Protestants, but the Catholic laity from the College. As far back as April 18th, 1845, this charge had been disposed of by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons in a debate on the Maynooth Grant.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix, pages 277, 280, for fuller treatment of this question.

"We are told," he said, "that this institution of Maynooth is of a monastic and ascetic character. Whose fault is that? Not of the Roman Catholics. In 1795, at the institution of the College, Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the Roman Catholic body against that clause which prohibited the education of Protestants at Maynooth.

"The Trustees of Maynooth College were desirous of establishing a lay College. They did not wish it to be of an exclusive character. They, however, were interfered with and prevented, and Mr. Abbott informed the Secretary that the creation of a lay College would be contrary to the intentions of the Act; and in consequence of the interventions of the British Government it was prevented."—(*Hansard*, vol. 79, p. 1032, April 18, 1845.)

(b) The professorial staff of University College numbers twenty-one members; fifteen professors and six tutors. Five of the twenty-one are priests. Of the fifteen professors eight had won Studentships in the Royal University; another a Gold Medal for excellence; another a special prize of £100; three of them are graduates of Oxford (two of whom won the highest distinctions also in the Royal University); one is a research graduate of Cambridge, and also a most distinguished graduate of the Royal University; and another was a distinguished scholar and graduate of both the Dublin University and the Royal University.

On that Professorial Staff there have always been one or more Protestant Professors. On the Council of six members which governs the College conjointly with the President (a Council elected by the whole body of Professors) five are laymen, and one of the five is a Protestant.

On the other hand, in Belfast Queen's College *there is not now, and there never has been, a single Roman Catholic Professor in the Faculty of Arts.* Nay more, in 1845, when the Queen's Colleges Bill was before the House of Commons, Sir R. Peel read a letter which he had received from a "Presbyterian clergyman of high character," to this effect:—



"Sir. J. Graham appears to have intimated that all religions would be represented in the Professorships. Now, I should be acting most unfaithfully to the Government did I not clearly express my conviction that one Roman Catholic or Unitarian Professor in the undergraduate course—I mean the imperative part—would at once decide the General Assembly to withdraw every student. Of this result I entertain not a single doubt. You might, indeed, appoint an Episcopalian, not known as a Puseyite, as readily as a Presbyterian or a Baptist, Independent, or Methodist, without much dissatisfaction, but not a Unitarian or Roman Catholic Professor."—(*Hansard*, vol. 81, p. 1,087.)

Where, I would ask, has any such menace been given on the part of Roman Catholics? The Government took the warning; they held conferences with the delegates of the General Assembly, Sir Robert Peel gave them "a very strong assurance," and therefore when the Professors and Deans of Residence were appointed in 1849, the General Assembly passed the following Resolution, which is worth careful consideration:—

"Whereas her Majesty's Government have enabled us to provide for the religious instruction of all our students in the endowment of a Theological Faculty under our own exclusive jurisdiction. . . . And whereas the qualifications and character of the persons appointed in the Queen's College, Belfast, for those classes which the students of this Church have hitherto been required to attend, are such as to justify this Assembly in accepting certificates and degrees from that College, we now permit them to attend the classes of that department in the Queen's College."—(*Queen's College Commission*, 1858, p. 53.)

#### TWO WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

On the other hand, when the Professors were appointed at the same time in the Colleges of Cork and Galway—Colleges professedly established to satisfy the demand of Roman Catholics for Higher Education, and in the midst of communities almost entirely Catholic—"out of twenty Professors in the Galway College there were only two Roman Catholics in the Faculty of Arts, the Professors of Mathematics and of History and

English Literature"; "in the College of Cork out of twenty Professors there were three Roman Catholics, but two of these were Professors in Medicine, and the other in Law." (Evidence of Dr. Starkie before the Royal Commission, Second Report, p. 189).

*In Cork College, as in Belfast, there was not a single Roman Catholic Professor in the Faculty of Arts.*

*In all the three Colleges, the Council, which is the Governing Body, was, as it is to-day, almost entirely Protestant.*

If the heads of the Roman Catholic Church discountenanced the attendance of Catholic students at Colleges so constituted, does the charge of "illiberality" and "sectarianism" lie well, I wonder, in the mouths of those on whose behalf the foregoing warning had been given to the Government, and to whom there had been meted out by that Government such very different treatment?

If in Birmingham there were established a single endowed College of Higher Education, said to be entirely undenominational and open to all religions on equal terms, but of which *all* the Arts Professors and five-sixths of the Governing Body were Roman Catholics, would Anglicans and Nonconformists think themselves open to charges of "illiberality" or "sectarianism" if they held aloof from such a College, or if they denounced it, as constituted most unsuitably to its surroundings, and most unfairly to the Nonconformist and Anglican denominations? Or is it too much to ask that the religious convictions of the Roman Catholics who form the vast majority of the people of Ireland, should receive, at length, some small measure of the consideration that has been given so abundantly and for

so long a time to Irish Protestants and Irish Presbyterians?<sup>5</sup>

"CLERICAL SEMINARY" AND "MONASTIC TRAINING" ?

3. Of the students of University College over 95 per cent. are preparing for purely secular pursuits; in Belfast Queen's College a large proportion of the Arts Graduates are preparing to enter the ministry of the Presbyterian Church.

"A COLLEGE FOR PRIVATE PROFIT" ?

4. As regards the financial administration of University College, the Registrar and Bursar, who is a layman, receives all the fees, submits his accounts to the Council fortnightly, and under their direction makes all disbursements; the accounts are audited by a public auditor, and the auditor's report is submitted to the body of Profes-

<sup>5</sup> As illustrating how liberally the word "unsectarian" is understood when there is a question of Belfast Queen's College, I may, also, refer on this point to Mr. Balfour's speech at Partick, on December 2, 1899, on the Irish Education Question. Having spoken of different meanings attached to the word "sectarianism," and of the position of Trinity College, Dublin, he proceeded (I quote from the *Times*' report):—"I turn from it to the case of Queen's College, Belfast. That is one of the institutions which are, in theory at least, either unsectarian or sectarian in the sense which I explained to you a few minutes ago. But what are the facts about the Queen's College, Belfast, which is certainly the second among the many great educational institutions in Ireland? In that College there are 422 students. Of that number eleven, and eleven only, are Roman Catholics.

"It is an interesting fact, and a fact which I see no reason for concealing, that when a vacancy occurred in the Presidency of Queen's College, Belfast, the General Assembly of that Church, or a Committee of that Assembly, wrote to me officially and stated that as the large majority of the students of Belfast College were Protestants, and as a large number of the Presbyterian clergy were educated there, they hoped that I would put a Protestant minister at its head. I thought, and think still, that that request was a perfectly legitimate one; and accordingly the Irish Government recommended to her Majesty the appointment of a Presbyterian minister last year to the head of the College."

sors and Tutors. If any surplus existed after necessary expenditure it would be divided *pro rata* amongst the Professors; unfortunately, so far there has been only a deficit, for which I, as President, though receiving no salary, have made myself responsible. In the first six years, from 1883 to 1889, that deficit entailed a debt of over £6,000, of which £1,500 still remains.

Here we have it expressly shown to us that in making the appointment to the most important office in the College the Government were asked to make, and did make, its selection—*not on the grounds of educational experience or qualification—but on purely religious and denominational grounds.*

And to understand the full importance of that selection, we must remember that when vacancies occur in the Professorial Staff, the candidates whom the President recommends to the Government are, in the vast majority of cases, appointed by the Government.

Here we see the meaning of "unsectarianism" as it applies to Belfast.

On the other hand, when the appointment of Dr. Starkie to the Resident Commissionership of the Board of National Education made a vacancy in the Presidency of Queen's College, Galway, and in the Professorships which he had also held of Mental Science and of English History and Literature, it might reasonably have been taken for granted that a Catholic, if otherwise qualified, would have been appointed to the vacant posts.

Galway is an intensely Catholic city; the College was founded expressly to provide for the higher education of Catholics in the same manner and degree as Belfast College had been for Presbyterians and Protestants. The late President was a Roman Catholic. The Lord Lieutenant (Earl Cadogan), with whom rested the nomination, had strongly advocated educational justice to Catholics. There was a brilliantly gifted Catholic candidate thoroughly qualified for both the vacant posts—the late Mr. W. P. Coyne, whose premature death a few days ago has been justly lamented as being truly a national loss. Surely here, if ever, Irish Catholics were entitled to take for granted that a Catholic would be appointed.

But no; the traditions of Dublin Castle were too strong for the Lord Lieutenant; Mr. Coyne was passed over; the Presidency was given to the Professor of Natural Philosophy, a North of Ireland Presbyterian, and the Chair of Mental Science and History to Mr. Trench, a Trinity College Protestant. I make no comment; let the contrast speak.

Those of my Jesuit colleagues (from two to six in number) who have been Fellows of the Royal University, and who received £400 a year each for their work in that capacity, devoted that sum to the maintenance of the College; and this has enabled me gradually to diminish its debts and to meet the yearly deficit, to keep the College in good working order, and to achieve such measure of success as it has obtained.

“EPISCOPAL AND CLERICAL DOMINATION” ?

I have made bold to submit to your Excellency's consideration these details of the spirit and management of a Catholic University College, which is administered by a Jesuit President, but is the property of the Catholic Bishops, who might at any time have resumed possession of it, and yet who never once interfered in its administration; and I have done so because I think that, if they were more generally known, they would help to correct the erroneous notions that many people seem to entertain of what the spirit and management is likely to be of such a College as is claimed for Catholics; that is, a College as satisfactory to Catholics in every respect—in its Faculties, its equipment, endowment and autonomous government, as Trinity College is to Protestants; a College without tests, and open to all—the best man winning, whether priest or layman—and administered, not as University College has been, by any section of Catholics, but by an academical body truly representing and enjoying the confidence of the whole Catholic community—Bishops, clergy, and laity alike.

Again, I repeat, in face of the foregoing facts and figures I fail to see how the request of Belfast Queen's College for priority of treatment can be maintained.

They seem to me to prove also conclusively:

1st. That, seeing the work done by University College under crying disadvantages of every kind, it is evident that if there were provided such a College for Catholics, with suitable buildings, equipment, and endowment, we might fairly expect still more satisfactory results, and in a far greater quantity.

2nd. That the expenditure of £23,000 a year on the Colleges of Cork and Galway *in their present condition*<sup>\*</sup> is absolutely indefensible on any principle of just and economic administration of public funds.

3rd. That, as things are, the present distribution of public funds for Higher Education is both economically and educationally unwise and unjust; and, therefore:—

4th. That even from the limited point of view here presented, it is a matter of urgency that the question of Higher Education in Ireland should be at once dealt with by the Government.

To prevent any possible misconception of the drift of this letter, I think it right to repeat what I have already said in my evidence before the Royal Commission, when asked by Professor Lorrain Smith, Q. 9,718:—

In view of any permanent arrangement that may be made, do you advocate the continuance of the College, as it exists at present, under the management of the Jesuit Fathers?

Father Delany, R.:—

Certainly not. Such an arrangement would be entirely inadmissible. In the first place, no endowment, however generous, could make of the institution in St. Stephen's-green a suitable University College, still less, a suitable independent University. There is no room for the necessary buildings and grounds. In

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix, pages 277, 280.

the next place, even if there were no legislative or other difficulty in the way, I consider that in the contemplated institution there should be room for all the best intellects of the country—the best man winning, whether priest or layman; that it should be national in its constitution, and should be governed from within, not by any mere section of the Catholic community, but by a body thoroughly representative of the whole Catholic people, with all its interests, and, therefore, enjoying the confidence of all. (Third Report, p. 361.)

I have the honor to be,  
Your Excellency's obedient Servant,  
WILLIAM DELANY, S.J.,  
*President.*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,  
DUBLIN, January 11th, 1904.

## APPENDIX.<sup>1</sup>

The foregoing letter deals more immediately with the appeal made on behalf of Queen's College, Belfast, to have its claims for increased endowment immediately recognised; but the tables there presented make it plain that there is another element in the Irish University Question that calls *imperatively* for the immediate consideration both of the Government and of Parliament: namely, the continuance of an expenditure of £23,000 a year on the Colleges of Cork and Galway in their present condition.

To bring this point out more clearly, I give in tabulated form a comparison of the results obtained at the Arts Examination of the Royal University during the ten years from 1894 to 1903, inclusive, by those two Colleges taken together, and by University College, Dublin.

|  | Total of Distinctions<br>in all Classes. | Total of First Class<br>Distinctions. | First Class Honours<br>in Classics at B.A. | First Class Honours in<br>Mathematics at B.A. | Gold Medals for<br>Composition. | Gold Medals and Special<br>Prizes for Excellence. | £42 Prizes at B.A. | Studentship £300<br>at M.A. |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|---|---------------------------------|---|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Endowments for Arts Faculty.</i>                      |  |                                       |  |   |                                 |   |                    |                             |
| £4,500 University Coll., Dublin                          | 704                                      | 374                                   | 15   | 9   | 7                               | 12  | 30                 | 14                          |
| £20,000 { Queen's Coll., Galway<br>{ Queen's Coll., Cork | 249                                      | 86                                    | 1  | 1   | 0                               | 4   | 6                  | 1                           |
|  | 65                                       | 20                                    | 1  | 1   | 0                               | 1   | 1                  | 2                           |
|  | 314                                      | 106                                   | 2  | 2   | 0                               | 5   | 7                  | 3                           |

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this Appendix, as in the foregoing letter, the argument drawn from the comparison of University College with the Queen's Colleges is to be understood, *not* as suggesting that a solution of the Irish University Question might be attempted by an increased dole to University College, which (as explained at the close of the letter) would be totally inadmissible; but as showing by concrete and intelligible facts and figures the indefensibility of the present distribution of educational endowments.



With these figures before us I ask the question: When the Queen's College Estimates come on for discussion this Session, on what grounds—political or educational or financial—will the Government defend them, whilst ignoring the Report of the Royal Commission and taking no steps to satisfy the just Catholic claims?

Certainly not on any grounds of educational fair play or of the economic distribution of public educational funds.

#### MANIFEST WASTE OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

This, and the foregoing tables demonstrate:—

1. The marked failure of the Queen's College, Galway, and the still more marked failure of Queen's College, Cork, to produce educational results at all proportional to the very large expenditure involved in their maintenance; whilst that maintenance in its present form is complained of as a grievance by Catholics, for whose benefit these Colleges were originally established.

2. That, as compared with the Colleges of Cork and Galway, Belfast Queen's College has been signally successful. Yet all three Colleges enjoy equal endowments and educational advantages: they are, all three, manned by thoroughly competent Professors, able and willing to do first-rate educational work. The reason of the contrast is found elsewhere: *Belfast College has succeeded because the Government, as we have seen, took special care in all its appointments to keep that College in harmony with its surroundings, and it therefore meets the wants and wishes of a large section of the population in its neighborhood; Cork and Galway Colleges have failed, because they fulfil neither of those essential conditions.*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See pages 267, 274.

3. That the failure of Cork and Galway Colleges is *not* to be attributed, as it has sometimes been, to the lack of Catholic students qualified to receive profitably University education, and eager to obtain it, if they could do so without doing violence to their conscientious convictions.<sup>3</sup>

4. That in the quantity of educational work done, and much more in the quality of the results obtained, as tested by the examinations of the Royal University, University College, though working under most grievous disadvantages, has more than held its own against all the well-endowed Queen's Colleges, and has very notably excelled the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway taken together.

It is plainly a reasonable deduction from these figures, that, if University College enjoyed advantages equal to those possessed by the Queen's Colleges, the comparison of results would tell still more strikingly in its favour.

5. These tables, therefore, demonstrate

THAT THERE IS A GRAVE INJUSTICE DONE TO CATHOLICS  
BY THE EXISTING DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL  
ENDOWMENTS,

under which the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway have provided for them by Government splendid buildings, libraries, museums, laboratories, educational appliances of every sort, and a direct endowment costing the State, as shown above from the estimates, over

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<sup>3</sup> This is also proved conclusively by the Results of the Intermediate Examinations, which show that Catholic students have won more than 60 per cent. of the Exhibitions awarded, and that some of the very best Intermediate Schools in Ireland are the Catholic Intermediate Schools in Cork.

£20,000 a year for their Arts Faculties: whilst University College, though producing educational results far excelling these two Colleges together in quantity and quality, has, beyond the aid indirectly given it by the payment of some of its Professors no provision whatever for the most essential wants of a University College, for buildings or their maintenance, for the necessary working staff, for library, museums, or laboratories, for scholarships or prizes.

Hence, to all who know anything of the working of Institutions for Higher Education, and of the large subsidies required to maintain them, it will be no matter of surprise that the maintenance of University College, even with its present very limited organizations, entails a considerable yearly deficit on those who have made themselves responsible for its working.<sup>4</sup>

Yet the College, which is so hardly dealt with in the present anomalous distribution of educational endowments, is doing more efficiently the very work for which the State professes to bestow its aid on the favoured but unsuccessful Colleges.

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<sup>4</sup> Sir Lyon Playfair, in his speech on the representation of Universities, March 6th, 1885, tells us:—"Foreign countries during the last ten years had made enormous strides in promoting University education. The competition of nations now, both in war and peace, was not a competition either of brute force or of local advantage, but was a competition of intellect; and foreign nations recognised this in a remarkable way. Jules Simon had stated that 'the best educated nation would be the greatest nation, if not to-day, certainly to-morrow.' See what France had done. Before the great Revolution France had twenty-two Universities, which spread intellectual life throughout all the provinces. Napoleon destroyed these Universities, and centralized them into one single University in Paris. Just before the war with Germany, University education in France had fallen so low that the subventions amounted to less than £10,000. Immediately after the war the French Institute for a whole fortnight discussed the

ON WHAT GROUNDS CAN THIS UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION BE DEFENDED?

Certainly not on political grounds. The Queen's Colleges are repudiated by the great mass of the Catholic population, for whose benefit two at least of them were originally established; University College, on the other hand, was established at great sacrifice by the Catholic body, and it enjoys their confidence.

Certainly not on educational grounds. If success in imparting purely secular education, as tested by a purely secular examining body, were made the measure of the educational endowments given by the State, the above tables demonstrate that University College, even now in its comparatively undeveloped condition, deserves a considerably larger endowment than Cork and Galway Colleges taken together.

Nor can it be defended on the plea that, where the State gives public funds for education, the education given should be open to all alike. University College,

question why it was that France had shown an intellectual paralysis in the war; why had not any great men come forward in the hour of danger? The answer was that higher education had been crushed out. France had recognised the position and since 1868 had spent £3,280,000 in rebuilding the colleges throughout the provinces. The subvention for University education alone was now £500,000 per annum. *When Germany took Strasburg the first thing she did was to rebuild the University of that small town at an expense of £711,000, and she now gave it £46,000 a year for University Education.* Germany had twenty-four Universities, and spent annually £400,000 for University education, besides £200,000 more to provide the Institutions with the modern appliances of science. The Netherlands, with a population about the same as Scotland, and with a revenue of only £9,000,000, had four Universities, and gave £136,000 a year for University Education."

Will it be maintained, in the face of figures like these, that the English Government has made satisfactory provisions for the higher education of Irish Catholics?

though under strictly Catholic management, opens its lecture halls to all who choose to accept the education there given, and has always had a considerable percentage of non-Catholics (often including Protestant clergymen) attending its classes.

Still less can it be defended on the ground that, when the State gives public funds for education, it should distribute them impartially without regard to religious denominations. This is exactly what the English Government under present arrangements does *not* do in Ireland.

It is a plain fact that, under the present educational arrangements, the Catholics of Ireland, though numbering three-fourths of the population, do not receive the one-twentieth part of the public endowments for higher education, whilst a rich minority enjoy a practical monopoly of them.

We are forced therefore, logically, to the conclusion, that, if the Government persist in maintaining the present unjust distribution of these endowments in Ireland, they are spending the public funds on the Queen's Colleges, and more especially on the Colleges of Cork and Galway—whilst withholding them from University College, Dublin—not because the Queen's Colleges are giving to all comers a better secular education or a greater quantity of it; not because they in a greater degree meet a popular want, and enjoy popular confidence; but simply and solely because in these Colleges, planted in the midst of a people most devoted to their religion; it is the fundamental principle of their constitution, that religion and all that belongs to it should be totally ignored.

To make this abundantly clear, let us see in the concrete how this system of distributing educational rewards affects Catholic students. The Results of the Examina-

tions of the Intermediate Education Board and of the Royal University furnish conclusive evidence on this point, We find on the lists of successful candidates the names of many Catholic students, who won the highest places at the Intermediate Examinations, and won the highest distinctions again at the Royal University, and who, nevertheless, see the rivals, whom they defeated in both these competitions, in the enjoyment of scholarships and prizes from which they, although victorious, are debarred by conscientious convictions.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, under this system, the Government, which is responsible for it, is made to say to successful Irish students: "We acknowledge that you have shown yourself the best men; our own examiners have declared it; but unfortunately you and your parents foolishly desire to combine religious training with secular learning; and therefore we can do nothing for you. Be wise and put away your absurd scruples; get rid of priestly influence; enter our Colleges where you will not hear a word about religion; and you will find scholarships waiting you, to be had for the asking, with a tithe of your present knowledge and industry."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Reports of Queen's Colleges (Ireland) Commission, qq. 8297-98, 8497, Appendix, pp. 507-510. See also this Appendix, pages 296, 300.

<sup>6</sup> In the official Report of the President of Queen's College, Cork, for the Session 1896-7, we find these figures:—Students following Arts Courses: Catholics, 5; other denominations, 20. Total, 31. Yet for 31 Art Students there were 37 Arts Scholarships provided at a yearly cost of more than a £1,000.

In the Report of the same College for the Session just closed (1902-3) we read that there were 30 Matriculated Students in Arts of whom 23 held Scholarships and 3 Exhibitions: but, strange to say, *there were only 6 of the number learning Latin*. Yet the State spends £10,000 a year on an Arts Faculty producing such results.

Are there not some grounds for the charge, that under such a system, endowments for higher education in Ireland are made to serve, not for the endowment of learning, but for the endowment of irreligion; and that, whilst professing to be impartial and merely *non-religious* in its administration of educational funds, the English<sup>7</sup> Government in Ireland is entirely one-sided, and most decidedly anti-Catholic in the real working of its provisions for higher education?

A really impartial, merely *non-religious*, State would have regulated its action on these broad principles:

1. It is a matter of very great importance to the State to promote higher education amongst its inhabitants of *all* religions.

2. It is the duty of the State, on grounds of public justice, to provide educational assistance in equal measure for *all* its subjects: it is the duty of the State, on economic grounds, to shape its grants in that form in which they will be turned to best account in producing educational results.

3. The State will therefore devote public funds for the advancement of higher education impartially amongst all its subjects; and, in order to have results in proportion

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<sup>7</sup> The *English* Government in Ireland is expressly so described, because it is well known to all in Ireland who are interested in education, that Irish Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, have long since recognised the injustice and anomaly of the present educational arrangements, but that they have been powerless to remedy them, because English Cabinets and English Parliaments had settled that Irish Catholics should educate their children—not, indeed, according to the ideas of the vast majority of Englishmen and Scotchmen, who are opposed to the exclusion of religion from education—but according to the ideas of English secularists and Irish Orangemen.

to its expenditure, it will aim at securing, by its distribution of public money, the best attainable education of the largest number.

4. Being purely secular, however, and non-religious, the State will take cognisance only of education in matters of secular learning, and will give its aids and rewards solely for the furtherance of such education.

5. Therefore, efficiency in imparting secular education shall be the condition and the measure of State aid to teachers and to teaching Institutions; success in the acquisition and display of secular learning shall be the condition and the measure of its rewards to students.

6. In order that the public money may not be squandered, the State will take its own measures to establish and maintain a suitable standard of secular education, and to test the efficiency of teaching Institutions, and the success of their pupils in reaching that standard.

7. But these conditions being once secured, the State will impose no religious *nor anti-religious* test; will not enquire whether, along with their secular knowledge, students may have been taught any or no religion, whether the institutions are managed by Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Pagan.

These are the broad, intelligible principles on which an impartial, or a merely *non-religious* State, would distribute its educational endowments in a country of mixed religions. The Irish Intermediate Education Act is, on a limited scale, an application of these principles to secondary education; and hence, despite many serious defects from the purely educational point of view, it was one of the most cordially accepted Educational Acts ever passed by Parliament; simply because, within its own scope and



limits, it deals with students and teachers of all denominations on principles of perfect impartiality.

But when we apply these obvious principles to the present distribution of endowments for higher education in Ireland, we find every one of them flagrantly violated.

The State, far from deeming it a matter of importance to its welfare to promote the higher education of Irish Catholics, has effectually shut them out from such education.

The State does *not* deal out equal measures to all its subjects: a small and wealthy minority monopolise the endowments: the great majority of the people are unprovided for.

Efficiency in imparting secular learning is *not* made the measure or the condition of State aid to Institutions; nor is success in acquiring and displaying secular knowledge made the measure or the condition of the State's rewards to students.

The State leaves unrecognized Colleges proven to be efficient in imparting secular learning; it persists in maintaining at great cost Colleges proven to be unsuccessful; and the only assignable reason for the distinction is that the unsuccessful Colleges ignore religion, and this is held to compensate for their failure in producing scholars; the successful Colleges produce the scholars, but teach them also the religion of their parents, and that is held sufficient to condemn them.

That is, in plain words, that the Government *applies and enforces an anti-religious test* in its distribution of educational endowments.

The people in Ireland who wish to divorce secular education from religion in the training of their children do not number one-thousandth of the population. The

Government identify themselves with this infinitesimal fraction of the people, adopt their educational views, and force them on the whole country; and, strangest thing of all, they loudly profess that they do so in the name of religious liberty and perfect equality.

They have put an end, they boast, to the old system of religious ascendancy and intolerance, when a Protestant minority held exclusive possession of educational endowments; and meantime they build up a new and, to Catholics, a much more objectionable ascendancy of *anti-religious* intolerance, under which a mere handful of Secularists are made to dictate to the whole nation the conditions of its public institutions for higher education.

To the great mass of Irish Catholics, Trinity College, in its exclusively Protestant days, was less objectionable than the Queen's Colleges, which ignore religion altogether; and it was certainly not more objectionable to Catholics in those days, though an entirely Protestant institution, than it is now, when, we are told, it has been made entirely undenominational.

#### THE "UNDENOMINATIONALISM"? OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

At present the only University Institution in Ireland which has Collegiate buildings and grounds suited to accommodate resident Students, and which is therefore in a condition to provide the full advantages of University life, is Trinity College.

The history and character—past and present—of that institution are set forth briefly, but fully, in the following petition which was presented to Parliament by its Vice-Chancellor, Vice-Provost, and over 6,000 of its graduates, asking that its Protestant constitution might be preserved unimpaired. They point out that:—

"The University of Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, in 1591, for the purpose of promoting education in Ireland on the principles of the Protestant religion. That for three centuries Trinity College has faithfully fulfilled the trust imposed on it by its founder and benefactors, and has in consequence enjoyed the confidence of the Protestant people of Ireland, . . . and therefore your petitioners pray . . . that the Protestant constitution of the University of Dublin may be preserved unimpaired."—(Parliamentary Paper, No. 110. Session, 1870.)

Notwithstanding that petition, Fawcett's Act was passed, in 1873, abolishing religious tests, and thus, *in theory*, making Trinity College undenominational. But what are the plain facts? I appeal to the testimony of its ardent admirers, and of those who know it most intimately.

Witness Professor Mahaffy, who, in an article strongly deprecating the introduction into Dublin University of a Roman Catholic College on the ground that thereby "hostile forces would be empowered to sow dissension in the Councils of the University," goes on to inform the public that "the present government and policy of the College (Trinity), though secular and admitting all persons to its honours, is distinctly Protestant."—(*Nineteenth Century*, July, 1892, page 95.)

Again: At the opening meeting of the College Historical Society of Trinity College for the Session of 1891-2, the subject selected by the Auditor of the Society for his inaugural address was "University Education in Ireland." Among the principal speakers were Judge Webb, Professor Mahaffy, and Lord Justice Fitzgibbon. Judge Webb said "Their University was founded by Protestants, for Protestants, and in the Protestant interest. A Protestant spirit had from the first animated every member of its body corporate. At the present moment, with

all its toleration, all its liberality, all its comprehensiveness, and all its scrupulous honour, the *genius loci*, the guardian spirit of the place, was Protestant. And, as a Protestant, he said, and said it boldly, Protestant might it evermore remain."

Professor Mahaffy "agreed thoroughly with his friend Judge Webb," and Lord Justice Fitzgibbon said that Judge Webb had told them truly that the University in which they stood was founded by a Protestant, for Protestants, and in the Protestant interest.

Yet the institution thus described by its own friends,—an institution of which the Governing Body and the whole Professoriate are Protestant,—is the institution where Irish Catholics are bidden to go if they desire University Education.

Now, I know, that in all religions there are men—often most amiable and well-meaning men—who are so steeped in religious prejudices that reasonable argument is thrown away on them. To them I make no appeal. But there are thousands of men—Anglicans, Nonconformists, Protestants, Orangemen—who do not belong to that class: men, who are, perhaps, strongly hostile to the Roman Catholic Church, but who do not permit their hostility to blind them to reason.

To all such men I make an earnest appeal, and I ask them "on what grounds do you—while you profess (I am sure honestly) to uphold the principle of religious equality, and while you stoutly insist on it, as applied to yourselves—on what grounds do you defend your position, when to the demands of Irish Catholics for mere equality—that is, for an Institution as satisfactory to them as Trinity College is to Protestants—you reply:—'Trinity

College is equally open to you, as to every one else. If you want Higher Education you must go there. You are at no disadvantage.’”

“If a Roman Catholic priest were appointed President of Queen’s College, Belfast, with all the Professors also Catholics, would you tell the General Assembly that they must accept such a situation, and hold that their Students were at no disadvantage?

“If we could imagine that, in an English town, where the Nonconformists were three-fourths of the population, the *only* school open to the children and maintained from public funds, was an Anglican school originally founded for the spread of Anglicanism amongst the Nonconformists, and since then and at present entirely controlled by the parson and his Anglican churchwardens, with Anglican teachers and Anglican reading books,—would you, I ask, or any fair-minded man, hold that Nonconformist parents and children in that town were at no grievous disadvantage? Would you call them “sectarian” and “il-liberal” and “priest-ridden” if they protested that, as taxpaying citizens, they should have fair play, and that they, who were the majority, were surely entitled to equal privileges with the minority—to at least an equally well-provided school of their own?

“And if you would so protest, and struggle—as you most assuredly would unceasingly, until you had secured your full rights—on what grounds do you persist in withholding from Irish Roman Catholics the same equality of civic rights and the same respect for their religious convictions that you insist on having for yourselves?”

I fail to see them. If such treatment were inflicted on a Nonconformist community in one English town, you would rightly consider it a crying injustice that called for

immediate redress: how much graver, then, the injustice where a whole people are the sufferers, and where successive Governments, whilst fully acknowledging the grievance, take no action whatever to remove it?

More than thirty years have passed since Mr. Gladstone condemned the conditions of Higher Education in Ireland—so far as Catholics were concerned—as scandalously bad; the present Prime Minister has again and again declared that Irish Catholics labor under a serious grievance in regard to Higher Education; successive Lord Lieutenants and successive Chief Secretaries have repeated that declaration; the present Government, in 1901, appointed a Royal Commission to enquire and report on the subject; that Commission emphatically condemned the existing state of things, and by that condemnation made matters much worse, disparaging, as it did, the educational status and organisation of the Royal University, to the serious injury of its graduates and of the teaching institutions which prepare Students for its degrees.

Yet the Government, which appointed that Commission, and which has had before it for the past year the excellent practical recommendations which the Commissioners make in their Report, simply ignores both Commission and Report.

The old excuses are all gone. The Catholic Bishops are *not* "impracticable." Whilst for educational as well as religious reasons they would prefer a separate Catholic University, they have declared their willingness to accept an undenominational joint University, either a modified University of Dublin or a Royal University modified according to the suggestions of the University Commission.

Far from demanding that either the University or the Catholic College forming part of it shall be under episco-

pal or clerical control, they have expressly declared again and again that they will accept a Governing Body predominantly lay. They ask for no tests either in the University or the College. The chief element in the demand which the Bishops—and with them the whole body of Irish Catholics—put forward, is simply this: that there shall be provided for Catholics a College as satisfactory to Catholics in every respect in the completeness of its Faculties, in its equipment and endowment, and in the character of its autonomous government as Trinity College is to Protestants; a College without tests and open to all, and governed, not by any section of Roman Catholics, but by an academical body truly representative of the Catholic community—laity and clergy alike.

This, too, is in substance, the chief recommendation of the Royal Commission.

Yet a Government, whose Prime Minister, Lord Lieutenant, and Chief Secretary are strongly and avowedly in favor of a just settlement of Catholic claims, decline to take action upon that recommendation; and why? Not because they think it unreasonable or impracticable; but because (as the Chief Secretary himself explained in the House of Commons) inasmuch as questions of religion were involved, it could not be settled until there was a general agreement about it in Ireland; which was in other words equivalent to saying that three millions of Irish Catholics must wait for a removal of their acknowledged educational grievances, until it shall please some thousands of Ulster Orangemen generously to concede it.

I ask in all seriousness, is not such a reply—after fifty years' waiting—plainly tantamount to a declaration that in the matter of Higher Education Irish Catholics cannot expect justice from a Parliament at Westminster?

I would respectfully recommend to the consideration of Mr. Wyndham's dissentient colleagues the following weighty words spoken on a kindred subject by Lord John Russell in the House of Commons, on April 18, 1845, in the debate on the increase of the Maynooth grant:—

“Are we not bound to say to the people of Ireland: ‘We engaged at the time of the Union to govern Ireland in a spirit of equality with England—we engaged to consider Irishmen as we consider Englishmen: to allow the same rights and privileges to the Irish as we claim for ourselves, and to consider the questions with regard to Ireland as we would consider them with regard to ourselves?’ If that be the case, it will be totally inconsistent with our saying that ‘our own religion is so exclusively true that we cannot bear anything like an equality or anything like a favor shown to the people of Ireland.’ If we say that such are our religious principles, that we defy these demands for justice, then will come more fiercely than ever those demands for the Repeal of the Union which we all deplore. Either we must say that ‘we will carry out the compact in the spirit which was declared at the time, and that we will fulfil the compact, not only to the letter but with all that kindness and all that affectionate regard and all that conciliation which Ireland should have from England’; or we must say that ‘our religious opinions will not allow us to act with equity and justice towards Ireland,’ and then we must renounce the connexion and the compact and we must give them back their Legislature to enable them to decide for themselves as they think best. . . . I own that I consider this a dilemma from which you cannot escape. . . . If you will maintain the Union, you must con-



*vince the Roman Catholic people of Ireland that you will treat them as you treat the Protestant people of England."*  
—*Hansard*, v. 79, p. 1011.

I claim to have shown that to-day, nearly sixty years after these words of warning were uttered, Irish Roman Catholics are *not* receiving equal treatment nor educational Fair Play. During that time successive Prime Ministers, Lords Lieutenant, and Chief Secretaries have acknowledged the grievance, and recognised the manifold serious injury thereby inflicted on the social and industrial well-being of the country.

Yet now, when we dared to flatter ourselves that at last some justice was about to be done,—with a Prime Minister and an Irish Secretary both avowedly sympathetic, both fully conversant with the gravity of the question and with the pressing need of having it satisfactorily settled—we see Mr. Wyndham compelled to declare in the House of Commons that the Government were not prepared to deal with it, *because it involves a question of religion*.

Surely it cannot be, that we are to look on that declaration as the final word of English statesmanship in reply to the demand of Irish Catholics for Educational Fair Play?

WILLIAM DELANY,  
*President.*

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.  
February, 1904.

# TABLES

**Giving the Names and Places of the First Ten Exhibitioners at the  
Senior Grade Intermediate Examinations in each year from**

**1889 to 1898,**

**Showing the Universities in which they matriculated, and  
the Colleges in which after matriculation they pursued  
their Undergraduate Studies.**

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A comparison of the lists published yearly by the Irish Intermediate Education Board with the lists of Exhibitioners, Scholars, and Prizemen recorded in the Calendars of the Irish Universities, will make clear that the vast majority of their most distinguished University Students have been already competing against each other in the Intermediate Examinations.<sup>1</sup>

The following Tables show:—

1. That of the 100 most distinguished intermediate Students in the ten years, 1889 to 1898, 84 matriculated in one or both of the two Irish Universities—65 in the Royal University, 7 in the University of Dublin, and 12 others in both Universities.

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<sup>1</sup> Thus in the Trinity College Calendar for 1900-1 the names of all the Junior Exhibitioners except two are found in the Senior Grade Lists for 1898, 1899, or 1900. Nine of the 10 Sizars on the same page were Intermediate Students; so were the two men who won Studentships, the two Brooke-prizemen, and all the Science Scholars.

2. That 19—or little more than one-fifth of the whole—entered Trinity College, Dublin, and that 23 entered one or other of the Queen's Colleges (Belfast 18, Cork 3, Galway 2); whereas 25 entered University College, Dublin, amongst whom were 8 of the 10 Students who had gained the first place; and

3. They show—by the figures and letters in brackets—the generous pecuniary help that is provided for the Students of Trinity College and of the Queen's Colleges by College Scholarships. Students of University College, Dublin, have no such help, nor have they the advantages of suitable Buildings, Laboratories, Libraries, and other educational appliances provided for them from the public funds.

It may be added that there is no religious test imposed on Students entering University College; it is equally open with Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges to Students of every denomination, and some of its most distinguished Students have been Protestants. It has no Divinity School, and does not train young men for the priesthood. The majority of its Professors are laymen, many of them married, and some of them Protestants.

Yet Trinity College, which has much more of a denominational character—which *has* a Divinity School, and is governed by a Board of 8, of whom 5 are Clergymen of the Disestablished Church—has £38,000 a-year of endowment from public sources, with Grounds, Buildings, Laboratories, and educational appliances worth much more than a million; the Queen's Colleges cost the State nearly £38,000 a-year; whilst University College, though training a larger proportion of the most gifted Irish Students, has for its whole endowment the salaries paid by the Senate of the Royal University to 15 of its Fellows

who receive £400 a-year each for the *double duty* of acting as Examiners in the University, and of teaching at University College—the teaching endowment, therefore, to University College not exceeding £4,500 a year (£300 each), and given in the most inconvenient form. It has no grounds nor suitable buildings, no equipment, its President and executive officers are unpaid, it has no Scholarships to help poor students of ability; and yet from the number of brilliant boys who, notwithstanding these drawbacks, for conscientious reasons prefer it to Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges, University College has more than held its own in the unequal competition with the generously endowed Queen's Colleges.

In the following lists, where figures are given, they represent the value of Scholarships held in a Queen's College.

Ex.—Exhibitioner in Trinity College. S.—Sizar. Sch.—Scholar. The Exhibitions are worth £25 a-year for two years. Sizarship £35 a-year. Scholarship £60 a-year. The Sizarships are tenable for four years from the Junior Freshman year; the Scholarships until the Scholar is of Master's Standing, that is, until 7 years from his entrance in College.

The Exhibitions may be held with Sizarships.

| Name.                     | Univ.   | College.                     |
|---------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| 1889.                     |         |                              |
| 1. Nairn, J. A.           | R.      | Univ. Coll.                  |
| 2. Burke, W.              | R.      | "                            |
| 3. Corcoran, T.           | R.      | "                            |
| 4. Kelly, J.              | R.      | Blackrock.                   |
| 5. Gillespie, J. R. (£48) | R.      | Q. C. Belfast.               |
| 6. Browne, T. B. (Ex.)    | R. & D. | Wesley Coll.<br>and T. C. D. |
| 7. Magner, Aug.           | R.      | Univ. Coll.                  |
| 8. Palmer, J. J. (Ex.)    | D.      | T. C. D.                     |
| 9. Blanchot, H.           | R.      | Blackrock.                   |
| 10. Purcell, J. P.        | —       | —                            |

## 1890.

|                           |         |                |
|---------------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1. Ebrill, Th.            | R.      | Univ. Coll.    |
| 2. Manning, Jas.          | —       | —              |
| 3. Colthurst, Jos.        | —       | —              |
| 4. M'Culla, Jas. (£112)   | R.      | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 5. Wisdom, J. H.          | —       | —              |
| 6. O'Brien, Wm.           | —       | —              |
| 7. Devitt, Lau.           | R.      | Univ. Coll.    |
| 8. Alton, Geo. (Ex. Sch.) | R. & D. | T. C. D.       |
| 9. Doyle, G. J.           | —       | —              |
| 10. Macken, —             | R.      | Univ. Coll.    |

## 1891.

|                              |    |                |
|------------------------------|----|----------------|
| 1. Egan, M. F.               | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| 2. Rice, J. (£112)           | R. | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 3. Conran, M.                | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| *4. M'Swiney, J.             | R. | "              |
| 5. O'Connell, J. C.          | R. | Ch. B. Cork.   |
| *6. Kelleher, Stephen (£112) | R. | Q. C. Cork.    |
| 7. Garratt, R. (Ex.)         | D. | T. C. D.       |
| *8. Beare, T. J. (£112)      | R. | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 9. Kevany, J. P.             | —  | —              |
| 10. Fox, W.                  | R  | —              |

## 1892.

|                          |         |                              |
|--------------------------|---------|------------------------------|
| 1. Keane, M.             | R.      | Univ. Coll.                  |
| 2. Enright, J.           | R.      | "                            |
| 3. Clifton, H. C.        | R.      | "                            |
| 4. Sheridan, J. P.       | R.      | "                            |
| 5. Campbell, S. G.       | R.      | Pr. Study.                   |
| 6. Watt, Sam (Ex.S.Sch.) | R. & D. | Pr. Study.<br>later T. C. D. |
| 7. Hackett, J. J.        | R.      | Univ. Coll.                  |
| 8. Harvey, T. G. (£112)  | R.      | Q. C. Belfast.               |
| 9. Gleeson, P. J.        | —       | —                            |
| 10. Morrissey, T. J.     | R.      | Blackrock.                   |

\* These Students having graduated in the Royal University, subsequently entered Trinity College.

## 1893.

|                                  |    |                |
|----------------------------------|----|----------------|
| 1. Ryan, Andrew (£48)            | R. | Q. C. Cork.    |
| 2. Conroy, Jas.                  | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| 3. Paul, F. J. (£112)            | R. | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 4. Spence, J. F. (£48)           | R. | "              |
| 5. Minford, Wm. (£72)            | R. | "              |
| 6. Morgan,                       | R. | Maynooth Coll. |
| 7. Halliday R. J. (£72)          | R. | Q. C. Galway.  |
| 8. Byrne, J.                     | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| 9. Byrne, A. T.                  | —  | —              |
| 10. Fleming, R. J. (Ex. Sch.) D. |    | T. C. D.       |

## 1894.

|                              |         |                 |
|------------------------------|---------|-----------------|
| 1. McAllister, A. P.         | R.      | Univ. Coll.     |
| 2. Ebrill, George            | R.      | "               |
| 3. O'Brien, Steph.           | —       | —               |
| 4. Shine, John               | R.      | Clonliffe Coll. |
| 5. Caldwell, V.              | —       | —               |
| 6. McFarland, W. G. (S.Sch.) | R. & D. | Meth. Coll.     |
| 7. Burkitt, H. (Ex. S.)      | R. & D. | and T. C. D.    |
| 8. McCarron, J.              | R.      | T. C. D.        |
| 9. Merriman, P. J.           | R.      | Univ. Coll.     |
| 10. Smyth, S. A. (£112)      |         | "               |
|                              |         | Q. C. Belfast.  |

## 1895.

|                               |    |                |
|-------------------------------|----|----------------|
| 1. Kent, P.                   | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| 2. Strain, T. G. (£120)       | R. | Q. C. Galway.  |
| 3. MacGarry, C. J.            | R. | Univ. Coll.    |
| 4. Collins, D.                | —  | —              |
| 5. Bresland, C. W. (Ex. Sch.) | D. | T. C. D.       |
| 6. Jennings, Chr. (£24)       | R. | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 7. Smithwick, M.              | R. | Rockwell.      |
| 8. Connolly, V. (Ex. Sch.)    | D. | T. C. D.       |
| 9. Vinycomb, B. (£112)        | R. | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 10. Chart, D. A. (£88)        | R. | Q. C. Cork.    |

## 1896.

|                           |         |                   |
|---------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| 1. Kettle, Thos.          | R.      | Univ. Coll.       |
| 2. Byrne, P.              | R.      | "                 |
| 3. Houston, C. C. (£24)   | R.      | Q. C. Belfast.    |
| 4. Houston, R. M. (£48)   | R.      | "                 |
| 5. Joynt, G. A. (Ex.)     | R. & D. | T. C. D.          |
| 6. Ryan, John             | R.      | Castleknock Coll. |
| 7. Harris, G. A. (Ex. S.) | R. R.   | Q. C. Belfast.    |
| 8. O'Donnell, M. J.       | —       | —                 |
| 9. Gibbons, E.            | R.      | —                 |
| 10. White, J. J.          | —       | —                 |

## 1897.

|                                |         |                                |
|--------------------------------|---------|--------------------------------|
| 1. O'Reilly, J. J.             | R.      | Univ. Coll.                    |
| 2. Clarke, J. C. (Ex. Sch.)    | D.      | T. C. D.                       |
| 3. Wasson, J. C. (Sch.)        | R. & D. | Magee Coll.<br>and T. C. D.    |
| 4. Adamson, F. L. (£24)        | R.      | Q. C. Belfast.                 |
| 5. Hawthorne, W. (£48)         | R.      | "                              |
| 6. Oliver, T. S. (Ex. S.)      | R. & D. | Meth. Belfast.<br>and T. C. D. |
| 7. Harper, E. H. (Ex. S. Sch.) | R. & D. | T. C. D.                       |
| 8. Stodart, J. C.              | R.      | Campbell Coll.                 |
| 9. Daly, R.                    | R.      | Pres. B. Cork.                 |
| 10. Knox, W. G. (£72)          | R.      | Q. C. Belfast.                 |

## 1898.

|                          |         |                |
|--------------------------|---------|----------------|
| 1. Fisher, C. D.         | R.      | —              |
| 2. Leatham, G. (£24)     | R.      | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 3. Martin, W.            | R.      | Blackrock.     |
| 4. Dennehy, W.           | —       | —              |
| 5. Murphy, A. J.         | R.      | —              |
| 6. Moore, H. (Ex. S.)    | D.      | T. C. D.       |
| 7. Lloyd, W. H. (Ex. S.) | R. & D. | T. C. D.       |
| 8. Johnston, J. (£24)    | R.      | Q. C. Belfast. |
| 9. White, N. B. (Ex. S.) | D.      | T. C. D.       |
| 10. Meyer, Ch.           | R.      | —              |

Of the 100 Students who obtained the first ten places in the years 1889 to 1898 inclusive, 77 matriculated in the Royal University, of whom 12 matriculated also in the University of Dublin; 7 others matriculated in that University, making a total of 84 who matriculated in a University.

Of these 25 entered University College, 19 entered Trinity College,<sup>2</sup> 18 entered Queen's College, Belfast, 4 entered Blackrock College, 3 entered Cork College, 2 Galway, and 1 Magee College.

Again, of the 60 Students who obtained the first *six* places in the same ten years, 1889 to 1898, 19 entered University College, 12 entered Queen's College, Belfast, 9 entered Trinity College, 2 Queen's College, Cork, 2 Blackrock College, 1 Galway College, and 1 Magee College.

Of the 10 Students who obtained *first* place in the same years, 8 entered University College.

These figures help to explain the success of University College in the Royal University Examinations as shown in the preceding letter.

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<sup>2</sup> Also 3 others entered Trinity College after Graduation in the Royal University (see pages 297, 298).



## The Motu Proprio of Pius X on Church Music and our Attitude towards the Same.



IN the course of past decades, the Popes and the Sacred Congregation of Rites have repeatedly promulgated regulations on church music. But if one were to visit the Catholic choirs throughout the world, he would find that comparatively few of them pay much attention to these prescriptions. Will the "Motu Proprio" of Pius X share the same fate? It would not appear so. The very words of the Pope seem to forbid it: "We do, therefore, publish *Motu proprio* and with certain knowledge, Our present instruction, to which, as to a juridical code of sacred music, We will with fullness of Our Apostolic Authority that the force of law be given, and We do by Our present handwriting impose its scrupulous observance on all."

On the 8th of January the Sacred Congregation of Rites gave a similar decision in the Pope's name: "To this body (of regulations) as a juridical code of sacred music, he (the Pope) has given by his Apostolic Authority the force of law for the universal Church. Wherefore the Holy Father, through this Sacred Congregation of Rites, commands and ordains that the said 'Instruction' be received and most religiously observed by all churches."

It may be seen how much the Holy Father is in earnest from an utterance in the case of Provost Tebaldini, choir-master in the Cathedral of Loretto. On the latter's in-

timating distrust as to the feasibility of the proposed reform in the face of serious difficulties, the Pope replied: "I shall insist on my regulations despite all difficulties; I regard the suppression of improper church music as one of the principal problems of my pontificate; I shall earnestly exhort the bishops seriously to carry out this reform."

And more recently, if we can trust the newspapers, he said to Mr. Bordes, director of the Schola Cantorum of Paris: "I have uttered and published my intention; the rest is assured. I shall obtain obedience. I shall take all the general and even special measures which may be necessary, and I shall act. . . . I like the operatic masterpieces, but wish opera to be confined to theatres. Such music is admirable in its place; but not in the Church."

When still Patriarch of Venice, he declared: "All must know that I am resolved to have recourse to canonical penalties against those who do not observe every single article in the 'Regolamento' of the Holy See (on ecclesiastical music) and the directions which I prescribe in holy obedience."

Accordingly, we read in Schmidlin's Life of Pius X: "Sarto pronounced the suspension *ipso facto* to be incurred by anyone having in his church choir books not approved by the Congregation of Rites."

If one may conclude from the past to the present, this reform is not destined to remain a mere dead letter.

*But what are the regulations of the Motu proprio?*

They are stated in words unusually clear, and are partly old, partly new. The former refer to the ecclesiastical character of the music chosen, the complete rendering of the proper text, either sung in full, or at least recited, and

other directions of the rubrics, contained for centuries past in the introduction to every missal, or so often given and emphasized by the decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Among the new enactments, the following two call for special mention: 1. The abolition of the books of plain chant which had been declared official for a number of years, and the substitution of the so-called traditional Gregorian chant, *i. e.*, the version of the old manuscripts. 2. The exclusion of female voices from the choir.

The *Motu proprio* being thus briefly reviewed, we shall next proceed to consider its instructions in a practical way—without, however, laying any claim to thoroughness—in order to correct, as far as we can, some wrong impressions that are far from uncommon. In doing so we follow the division of the papal document.

In the first part the Pope lays down *general principles*. In the course of time the consciousness that church music constitutes an integral part of the solemn liturgy had all but disappeared. People become accustomed to look upon it as a merely additional, external ornament. Pius X, therefore, begins by emphasizing this principle. The general and special regulations that follow are its spontaneous and natural consequences. If church music is a part of the liturgy, it must needs partake of the distinctive characteristics of the same. Hence the Pope wants church music to have “*sanctity, goodness of form and universality*.”

“It must be holy and must, therefore, exclude all profanity.” We shall find an occasion later on (Ch. II)<sup>1</sup> to devote more attention to this point.

“It must be true art” (“goodness of form”). The stress laid on this quality as also the commendation of

<sup>1</sup> Of the *Motu proprio*.

classical polyphonic music (II, 4)<sup>2</sup>, which is certainly anything but inartistic, pronounces unmistakable sentence on those extreme demands to which some newspapers lately gave utterance, requiring none but the simplest music or the exclusive use of congregational singing. And, in fact, for God and the divine service only the best is good enough. This, of course, holds good within the limits of practical ability: a simple melody for one or two voices, if well executed, will not fail to prove of greater service in church than the most thrilling masterpiece of part-music, when distorted by an inefficient choir.

"It must be universal" (Catholic). Here the Holy Father adds a very appropriate, practical application, which we have nowhere else found expressed in words so simple and clear.

"While every nation is permitted to admit into its ecclesiastical compositions those special forms which may be said to constitute its native music, still these forms must be subordinated in such a manner to the general characteristics of sacred music that nobody of any nation may receive an impression other than good on hearing them."

One frequently hears the remark: Music that the lively Italian deems quite proper for divine service often seems worldly to the more staid inhabitant of the north. Why force the opinions of the latter upon the former? To this the Pope gives a complete answer in the words quoted above. Then, too, one's taste is capable of improvement by education; formerly, before the opera of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries spoiled his taste, that lively Italian would listen in rapture to the earnest religious strains of his fellow-countryman, Palestrina.

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<sup>2</sup> Of the *Motu propria*.

In the second chapter, *the different kinds of sacred music* are enumerated. As the model of all liturgical music, as the chant which for centuries the Church directly proposes to the faithful as her own, the Holy Father points to the *Gregorian chant*.

With regard to all other forms of ecclesiastical music, he lays down the following rule: "The more closely a composition approaches the Gregorian melody in its inspiration and savor, the more sacred and liturgical it becomes; and the more out of harmony it is with that supreme model, the less worthy is it of the temple."

Many directors have a very imperfect knowledge of plain chant. Confused ideas in this whole matter are quite common, particularly since the *Motu proprio* made it a burning question of the day. It will, therefore, be necessary for us to dwell upon it at some length. And first let us remark that the Gregorian chant has been singled out as the specific ecclesiastical music not only because of the historical fact above-mentioned by the Holy Father, nor only because of the oft-repeated determination of the Church to have it so, but because this music is in its very essence eminently fit for so noble a function.

Its dignified character, its majestic cadence has been repeatedly acknowledged by great masters in music, and that, too, by Protestants and composers of secular music.

Even its musical system<sup>3</sup>, so different from our

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<sup>3</sup> The principal points of difference between the Gregorian system and modern secular music are the following: Gregorian music is built up only on *diatonic scales* (church-modes), and avoids all diminished and augmented intervals, while our modern music (and especially the most modern) is *chromatic*, i. e., its intervals and harmonies are altered by sharps and flats. Plain chant is further *conceived and written for one voice without harmonic basis*, and it is, at least in its present form, *without measure-rhythm*; that is to say, it resembles good prose in hav-

modern art, though a merely negative quality, raises it above the sphere of the profane and consecrates it as a proper medium of religious sentiment. Many Gregorian melodies are of surpassing beauty, and it is well known that they afforded the great masters the most pregnant themes for new compositions. In many churches Gregorian music is almost unknown; one chant, however, must be familiar to all. It is the Gregorian Requiem. Let us ask ourselves how many modern compositions would be able successfully to stand the test of such frequent performance as this requiem has stood it. Gregorian chant is like the bread we daily eat; one is never tired of it. We candidly admit, however, the Gregorian music shares the fate of all human works; not all the chants it contains are of equal worth. And we must never lose sight of the fact that it was composed at a time when music was still in its infancy. During the thirteen centuries that have elapsed since the death of Gregory the Great, the human mind has made progress—great progress in the domain of music as well as along other lines. But even a childlike, simple art may be beautiful and, as a matter of fact, a large portion of this *plain chant* is really beautiful.

This type of music, neglected in so many places, must, according to the *Motu proprio*, be largely restored to the function of public worship.

There are different versions of plain chant. Both in the present document and still more clearly in the Decree

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ing not an artificial but a natural rhythm. We said "in its present form," for the latest investigators, notably Father Dechevrens, S. J., relying on passages from authors of the Middle Ages dealing with music and on other proofs have made it very probable that originally the plain chant possessed a system of rhythmic beats.

for Rome and the World, published at the Pope's behest by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, January 8, 1904, and in the latest *Motu proprio* on a Vatican edition of liturgical Books, the Holy Father ordains that the text of the Gregorian chant to be henceforth used, and to supplant the hitherto official version, shall be the so-called "Traditional Chant." Now, what is the *traditional*, what the *official* plain chant?

1. *Traditional Chant*.—We do not know the exact period when the principal parts of the Gregorian chant were composed. At any rate, a great part was in existence at the time of Gregory the Great (sixth century). This Pope has hitherto been supposed to have collected the chants for the Mass and to have added new ones. But his claims to this honor have recently been called in question by the latest investigators and even altogether denied.

Whatever be the truth in this matter, up to the eleventh century there was no notation determining the pitch of the notes in order to transmit the Gregorian melodies to posterity; the neumes merely afforded aids to the memory. As a result, the melodies had to be handed down orally, and in the course of time naturally suffered many changes. In the first half of the eleventh century, Guido of Arezzo consistently carried out the system of lines already hinted at by Hucbald (✠ 930). From this time on we possess codices intelligible for us. That form of chant contained in these oldest intelligible codices is now called "traditional chant." It is commonly distinguished by a wealth of notes and it usually puts these long series of notes over a final syllable, and not unfrequently on unaccented syllables of the text. This reading is the foundation of various editions of plain chant, as, for instance, of the edition published by the Benedictines of Solesmes.

2. What is meant by the *hitherto official plain chant*?—The peculiarities of the traditional melodies which we have just mentioned did not agree with the artistic ideas of the composers of church music in the sixteenth century; the result was that editions were then published in which the plain chant was simplified. Thus, for instance, the brief of Gregory XIII requested Palestrina and Zoilo "to do away with the superfluous accretions, to abolish the barbarisms and confused passages that God's name might be reverently, intelligibly and devoutly praised." To them was entrusted the task of revising the liturgical books "and as far as they thought fit to purge, improve and remodel them." These events are to be mentioned here merely as historical facts and the document is to speak for itself. For it is far from our purpose to play one Pope off against the other or to give our personal opinion in this matter. Following this instruction, Palestrina prepared the *Graduale Romanum*.<sup>4</sup> But for reasons which want of space does not allow us to assign, his work did not reach the printer, but was later on probably<sup>5</sup> at the disposal of Felice Anerio, his successor in the office of composer of the Pontifical choir.

Fel. Anerio and Francesco Soriano were finally entrusted by the Prefect of the Congregation of Rites, Cardinal del Monte, with the remodeling of the *Graduale Romanum*. The book was issued from the Medicean press, 1614-1615, and is therefore called the *editio Medicæa*, which in the last decades has given rise to so many heated literary controversies. This *editio Medicæa* of

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<sup>4</sup> The *Graduale Romanum* is a book containing all the chants necessary for the celebration of Mass.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Haberl. *Kirchenmusik*. Jahrb., 1903, page 39.



the Graduale Romanum was reprinted in the "official edition." For, in the year 1868, Pius IX ordered a new revision of all the books of plain chant and a special Roman commission was charged with this task. Accordingly, since 1884, all parts of the liturgy have been published in this new revision; in every division the principles laid down in the Medicean Graduale Romanum were consistently followed. The Congregation of Rites had them printed by Fred. Pustet in Ratisbon, and by order of the Popes Pius IX and Leo XIII pronounced them on several occasions as official, authentic ecclesiastical books ("libri chorici ecclesiæ"). The introduction of this edition was recommended to all the churches; but in places where another reading was already in use, the adoption of the revised edition was not obligatory. Now Pius X has divested this edition of its official character and has commanded a return to the ancient forms.

3. *What are we practically to do?*—We must, of course, adopt that reading enjoined by the Pope. At present, however, obedience in this respect is a very light and simple task. By the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites of January 8, His Holiness permitted that the hitherto authentic chants "may be lawfully retained and sung in the churches where they are in use until the traditional Gregorian chant may be put in their place, which shall be as soon as possible." Quite lately the Pope has ordered a typical edition to be published by the Vatican press, an edition which all publishers will be free to reprint. According to Haberl's *Musica Sacra*, 1904, n. 5, just come to hand, the Holy Father authorized Bishop Foucault to announce at the Gregorian Congress, April 8, that until the publication of this new typical edition all dioceses may use the books they have at present. It were

unwise therefore to introduce another edition in the meantime. What will be the character of this papal edition? We cannot answer with certainty; it is probable, however, that it will not differ much from the old traditional codices. Shall we, therefore, receive a chant presenting greater difficulty of execution than the one hitherto used? That, we think, will be the case. But this fact need not frighten us; for, in the first place, the Holy Father confirms the permission (cf. III, 8 of the Motu prop.) to recite a part of the prescribed liturgical text, with organ accompaniment, *i. e.*, to have it sung by one or more singers on one tone, as the epistle is usually sung. Hence one may recite those parts that are too hard to sing. In the second place, it is a mistake to suppose that from this time forward we are not allowed to sing anything but Gregorian chant, or that we are absolutely bound to introduce plain chant at every liturgical service. We shall soon see that Pius X recommends also part-music. At High Mass, for example, from the Introit to the Communion all the choral portions might be rendered in the part-music of some later composer; and this could be done without offending against the liturgy. By these words we do not wish to assert that such a procedure is to be recommended, at least not as a regular practice. Neither would such a line of conduct correspond to our filial compliance with the wish of the Church. How easy is it to introduce at least some Gregorian music at High Mass! The organist or a singer may recite the Introit up to the Psalm (Ps.); this latter he may sing alternately with the choir as it is printed in the Graduale Romanum, and after the Psalm he may again recite the repetition of the Introit. We know of a choir in which this practice is observed without the necessity of any rehearsal. The

verse of the Psalm in the Introit is sung according to one of the well-known psalm-tones, and these even an ordinary singer can sing at sight. So slight a degree of compliance with the wishes of the Church can and should be found even in the weakest choir.

The Holy Father also recommends the classical polyphony, and especially the compositions of Palestrina, as corresponding to the spirit of the Church. His words are identical with those he used with regard to the plain song: "This, too, must be restored largely in ecclesiastical functions." However, music composed in our days is also permitted. We can do nothing better than to let the clear words of the Pope speak for themselves:

"The Church has always recognized and favored the progress of the arts, admitting to the service of her cult everything good and beautiful discovered by genius in the course of ages—always, however, with due regard to the liturgical laws. Consequently, modern music is also admitted in the Church, since it, too, furnishes compositions of such excellence, sobriety and gravity, that they are in no way unworthy of the liturgical functions. Still, since modern music has risen mainly to serve profane uses, greater care must be taken with regard to it, in order that the musical compositions of modern style which are admitted in the Church may contain nothing profane, be free from reminiscences of motifs adopted in the theatres, and be not fashioned even in their external forms after the manner of profane pieces."

Here we touch on the most important and vital point of the whole reform: *the removal of all that is worldly from Church music.* Against this ecclesiastical enactment many transgressions occur in our country; and the words of the introduction to the *Motu proprio* apply also to our

conduct in musical matters: "It is vain to hope that the blessing of heaven will descend abundantly upon us, when our homage to the Most High, instead of ascending in the odor of sweetness, puts into the hand of the Lord the scourges wherewith of old the Divine Redeemer drove the unworthy profaners from the temple." The writer of this article is neither desirous nor able, in this place, to enter into details regarding the unbecoming compositions performed in so many churches. Musical skill alone does not enable one to decide in a concrete instance about the suitability or the unsuitability of a piece of church music; our organists must also have received a liturgical training, and have formed their taste on models of liturgical music. Many of our choir directors are woefully lacking in this special liturgical training, however great their accomplishments may be in other respects. Now this want leads to the result that even the severest condemnation of worldliness in church music is usually of no avail. In our case there would merely be a repetition of a certain occurrence at Rome. In the year 1884 the Congregation of Rites sent to all the Italian bishops a regulation forbidding, in the plainest terms, all profane music in churches. What happened? As we learn from Krutschek, a writer deeply versed in matters of church music, the Cardinal Vicar, acting in good faith, sent this "Regolamento" to each church of the city, but added that the "Regolamento" was sent merely as a matter of form and propriety; for in Rome, he said, they had ever preserved the good old traditions, and therefore such an exhortation to adhere to the ecclesiastical spirit was unnecessary there. And, nevertheless, they produced, at that time in Rome, that same style of music which Pius X, in his letter to the present Cardinal Vicar, characterizes

as "disgusting and scandalizing the majority, who wonder how it is that such an abuse can still survive." Also, very many of our organists are at a loss when thus admonished in a general way; they will continue to render compositions of a worldly character, and they will even show surprise that a person fully versed in the matter should fail to be edified. To secure an effective reform there is, in our opinion, only one course to be followed under the present circumstances, namely, to apply the drastic measures employed by the Archbishop of Dublin [cf. (London) *Tablet*], measures in perfect harmony with the demands of the *Motu proprio* (VIII, 24). Competent musicians should draw up a list of compositions. This list should be sent to the several churches, with the strict order that after a stated date no music be rendered unless found in said catalogue. This list could be enlarged from time to time. It is true composers will thereby be somewhat hampered, but the welfare of the Church takes precedence of such considerations. In the course of time the restricting law could be abolished, as soon as the taste has improved to that extent that the individual choir-manager may be entrusted with the choice of the compositions. To draw up such a list, at least as regards the body of the work, is a matter of little difficulty, for the task has been performed, in great measure, by competent, liturgically-trained musicians: the catalogue of the "German Cäcilien-Verein" (published by Pustet) comprises no less than 3,122 compositions; it mentions publishers and prices and contains criticisms, written, however, in German. The three thousand compositions have not all, indeed, the same artistic value, but all are imbued with the true spirit of the Church. There exists, besides, a list compiled by I. Singenberger, entitled "Guide in Cath-

olic Church Music," published by order of the first Provincial Council of Milwaukee and St. Paul. This book contains many pieces not found in the first-mentioned catalogue; at the same time it is arranged in such a manner that the organists can easily find the liturgical chants for every feast and ecclesiastical function. This work, as we hear, will soon be re-edited, or will, at least, receive a supplement. In the diocesan list reference might, without the least scruple, be made to these two catalogues and other desirable compositions be enumerated. Of course, the making of this list would require really competent, experienced and consistent men.

If the taste is to be improved both in ecclesiastical and artistic regards the reform must be introduced into the singing of our school children, to avoid tearing down with one hand what we build with the other. Besides, as the children sing in church their singing is subject to ecclesiastical requirements, and it is just as wrong to let them sing improper music in the church as to have the choir do it. To be practical, we shall let Mr. Jos. Otten, the organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, of Pittsburg, mention some improper collections by name. Two of them have come under our personal cognizance and are disgusting. Mr. Otten hopes and prays that other books will find their way "into those choir-lofts where such miserable excuses for Catholic hymn-books as 'May Blossoms,' 'St. Basil's Hymnal,' 'The Catholic Youth's Hymn Book,' 'Laudis Corona' and any number of other trashy collections hold forth, corrupting children's taste and rendering it almost impossible to initiate them into music and religious poetry worthy of the worship of Almighty God and in accord with Catholic intelligence." (*The Review*, St. Louis, Dec. 12, 1901.)

Other measures of reform might be of great help, measures crowned with eminent success in Germany and, on a smaller scale, in the United States among German-speaking Catholics. But at present such plans are rather utopian. We may, however, mention them; it would be to join the "American Cæcilien-Verein," already in existence, or to found an independent society with an English periodical on church music appearing every month.

The requirement made in Ch. III that the prescribed liturgical text be sung or recited without any omission or alteration is liturgically of great importance and its bearing is evident to all. How many, or rather, how few churches have hitherto observed this oft-repeated regulation of the rubrics and the Congregation of Rites? Let us put the question in a practical way. How many have sung or at least recited at High Mass, both ordinary (*missa cantata*) and Solemn, and at *every* such High Mass, the changeable parts that belong to it: the Introit, the Gradual (the Tract) (the Sequence), the Offertory and the Communion? With the exception of the Offertory, a great number of organists will not even recognize these names, much less know when and how the above-mentioned chants find their place in the Mass. How many are satisfied with any Offertory at all, for instance, with an *Ave Maria*? However, the Holy Father renews the permission hitherto granted "after the Offertory, prescribed for the Mass, has been sung (and we add—or recited, III, 8) to execute during the time that remains a motet to words approved by the Church." And it will, perhaps, not be out of place to remark that this permitted recitation of the text not only makes the observance of a complete rendition of the text exceptionally easy and does away with every excuse for omissions, but, provided the

recitation is not hasty, but executed with becoming gravity and accompanied by earnest chords of the organ, it leaves a devotional, nay, solemn, impression. Who was ever offended by the singing of the Epistle, which is likewise recited in one tone? Why, then, not use this means, so easy in the fulfillment of our duty of obedience?

After explaining in the following chapter what the "external form of the sacred compositions" must be, the Pope comes to speak of the *singers* in the fifth chapter. "The singers take the place of the ecclesiastical choir, and hence the music must, at least, for the greater part, retain the character of choral music." Solos should only have the character of a melodic phrase, "strictly bound up with the rest of the choral composition." Consequently, a whole Offertory rendered as a solo would not be allowed.

And now comes the prohibition against the participation of women in the liturgy of divine service. This prohibition is, to some extent, a new one, because in many countries female singers were for many years "tolerated" by ecclesiastical authority. We, in America, still remember the answer given in 1885 by Cardinal Bartolini, the former Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites. At the instance of I. Singenberger, President of the American "Cæcilien-Verein," the Cardinal declared there was no objection to the participation of women in the choir provided the bishop of the respective diocese did not forbid it. Pius X excludes them with the words: "Singers in church have a real liturgical office, and therefore women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir." The same principle was formerly laid down in Provincial Councils, *e. g.*, that convened at Cologne in 1860; and in Italy to this day women are not admitted to the choir.



One cannot help adverting that this prohibition of the *Motu proprio* will cause great inconvenience. This was pointed out among others by Ignatius Mitterer, former Vice-President of the German "Cæcilien-Verein." Even in large cities, for instance, it is difficult to find a sufficient number of men, especially tenor singers, willing to sing in the choir. If women are to be excluded, and nevertheless sopranos and altos added to the men, boys must be taken into the choir. In many places the same difficulty will be experienced in getting these. The inevitable change of the voice almost as soon as the boys are well trained, the difficulty in making them behave, the aversion grown-up men feel against singing with them, all these are additional cares for the organist, overburdened and underpaid as he is. That these circumstances and others which any director can enumerate are real difficulties cannot be denied.

Our Bishops will certainly give this question their serious attention. Should they find the exclusion of women to be too great a drawback for church music in our circumstances, a petition on their part with the reasons plainly set forth would probably be graciously considered by the Holy Father, especially if this be done before difference in the practical solution of this problem sets in. This is also the opinion voiced by some Catholic European papers. The question of admitting women to the choir is not such that the Church could brook no toleration, especially since in this country the choir does not take its place in the sanctuary as in many a church in Italy, but over the entrance in the rear of the church, where, as the person is not seen, nothing but the voice takes part in the liturgical service.

Just as the Church allows women from afar to answer

the priest at Mass in case other servers are not to be had and thus to take part in a liturgical function, so the Church at her option may grant them permission to sing at a liturgical divine service. The Pope himself allows them to partake in common with men of congregational singing in the body of the church, and that, too, when the singing is properly liturgical. This is indirectly implied in the *Motu proprio* (II, 3), by his wish "that the faithful"—to whom, surely, the women also belong—"again take a more active part in the *ecclesiastical offices*." And in an audience granted to Dr. Peter Wagner, a professor of the University of Friburg, Switzerland, who is publishing an edition of the traditional plain song, the Pope expressly interpreted the *Motu proprio* as not at all excluding women from the *liturgical chant* when executed in common as mentioned above. "As for the rest," continues Dr. Wagner in his report, "I am convinced and have the strongest reasons to think this conviction correct, that women need not be excluded from the choir, especially in country parishes where a choir can hardly be otherwise organized, . . . provided the choir is not strictly a liturgical one, and consequently does not take its place near the altar." These are the impressions Dr. Wagner received in Rome. But as he did not communicate his reasons, we cannot pass judgment on their validity. Similar views were expressed before. It will suffice to quote the following item from the *Kirkchenamtlicher Anzeiger* for the diocese of Basle: "After consulting with his Lordship, Bishop Leonhard, the undersigned makes the following announcement: The regulation excluding female voices from the choir is to all appearances to be restricted to such choirs as have their place near the altar and needs not be extended to those in

our choir-lofts *who represent the congregation, whose participation in the liturgical chant is desired by the Motu proprio.* (Signed) Arnold Walter, canon, diocesan President of the Cæcilien-Verein."

The view that the prohibition of female assistance regards none but "sanctuary choirs" seems to be favored by the circumstance that the Pope declares the wearing of the ecclesiastical habit and surplice by the singers as befitting. For this habit seems to be of no account up in the organ-loft at the rear of the church.

No official declaration has yet appeared in regard to this question of female voices; of late, however, signs are multiplying that Rome will interpret the *Motu proprio* in a manner favorable to the practice of art. The latest report in this matter we clip from the London *Tablet* of May 14, 1904. The Roman correspondent of this paper has till now shown himself to be remarkably well informed. To throw light on this burning question he has interviewed the most competent authorities in Rome. He received the answer that the difficulty is to be solved by means of a distinction. The liturgical chants comprise such as are proper to a strictly liturgical choir so-called, and such as can be sung by the whole congregation. In the latter the women of our choirs may take part. During Mass they should not be allowed to join in singing the changeable parts, the Introit, Gradual, etc., for these belong properly to the strictly liturgical choir; they may, on the other hand, sing the fixed parts, the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, etc., and the psalms and hymn of the Vespers, for all these used to be sung by the congregation. It is, however, open to doubt whether Rome will stand by this distinction, as communicated by the *Tablet's* correspondent. For the changeable parts of the Mass were appar-

ently not reserved to a choir of clerics because they were more sacred or more strictly connected with the liturgy, but for the very reason that they were changeable in every Mass, and as such not suitable for the congregation unskilled in liturgical matters. Reserved in consequence to a special choir, these parts, further received a far more difficult composition than the other parts of the Mass. And this was again a new reason why it was found impracticable to have the congregation sing them.

From what has been said, the possibility of retaining female voices in our choir is, indeed, not altogether excluded; however, it seems inadvisable to let the affair go at that. It would be better and more prudent to take the necessary steps at Rome in order to arrive at a sure, speedy and satisfactory solution. The labor involved would be amply repaid by the advantages that would be secured. The retention of female voices not only renders a becoming execution of church music possible, in places where it would otherwise hardly be attainable, but also when viewed in the light of ecclesiastical art in general and of the composer in particular, the same is of greater importance than one would imagine. To mention but a few particulars, as far as art is concerned, church music has not kept equal pace with profane music. The liturgical prescriptions requiring brevity, the employment of fixed and limiting forms and the observance of a certain moderation and a dampening objectivity of expression, afford the work of the composer hard enough problems. Add to these difficulties the slight ability boys usually acquire during the brief time that they can sing soprano, and the restriction that the limited range of the boys' voices imposes on the composer, and there will be little hope of progress in art—stagnation will set in.

In the following chapters the *Motu proprio* treats of "the organ and instruments," "the length of the liturgical chant," and in Ch. VIII, of "the *principal means*" to carry out the reform successfully. In every diocese a special commission, composed of persons really competent in sacred music, should be instituted. In the theological houses of study young clerics are to be instructed in the principles and laws of the sacred music, and also in the æsthetic side of this art, "so that they may not leave the seminary ignorant of all those notions, necessary as they are for complete ecclesiastical culture." If this is done, genuine church music is ensured for the future. A priest so educated, even though not possessing a musical talent, will see to it that an organist is employed who is well versed in true church music and in those liturgical regulations that concern him; and when this becomes known, those who have a position as organist in view will try to acquire the specific knowledge necessary for their office. A priest so trained will be able to assist his choirmaster with counsel and direction; he will, then, in accordance with the concluding words of the *Motu proprio*, "favor with zeal the reforms, so that the authority of the Church, which has repeatedly proposed them, and now inculcates them anew, may not fall into contempt." The Supreme Pontiff cherishes the hope, as he expresses it in a subsequent instruction, that all will second him "in the desired reform, and not merely with that submission, always laudable though it be, which is accorded out of a pure spirit of obedience to commands that are onerous and contrary to one's own manner of thinking and feeling, but also with that alacrity of will which springs from the intimate persuasion of having to do so on grounds duly weighed, clear and evident."

Every member of the Church who has the dignity of the House of God at heart, must rejoice that there are now finally prospects at hand for the abolition of music that is contrary to the spirit of the Church, but is still so often heard at divine service; this result will be hailed with joy even though this joy be combined with some sacrifices.

In a discussion of the "*Motu proprio*" the well-known writer, Father Gerard Gietmann, S. J., makes some remarks, an excerpt of which may prove a suitable conclusion to this article. "So long," he warns us, "as the understanding busies itself too much and too continuously with the difficulties that may oppose its observance the will must needs feel itself crippled in carrying it out. On the contrary, we should open our eyes and direct the will to everything suited to prove and recommend the papal regulations. Some time ago the question was debated, not without warmth, to what degree the Roman regulations in the question of music are binding in conscience. Of course, *insurmountable difficulties* excuse one from observing a positive law, or at least suggest an application for a dispensation or a postponement. But this need be no further discussed. Besides, investigation was made whether the obligation under pain of sin be at all the object of the Church in these matters. The laws of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, bearing on this question, former laws as well as the present ones, are without doubt real laws of the Church and bind in proportion to their respective objects and the clearly discernible intention of the law-giving power. The cases above-mentioned where there is comparatively great difficulty in carrying them out, belong to the so-called *epikeia*, *i. e.*, they are cases, after all, not covered by the law (which is

an emanation of the will directed by reason). For it is not the wish of the law-giver to pass a law that does more harm than good. But after excepting greater difficulties, the milder interpretation in regard to strictly liturgical functions (*e. g.*, High Mass, etc.), will hardly be tenable; else the ground beneath our feet would be taken away. . . . Then, too, ordinary difficulties which the law-giver has evidently foreseen do not dispense us from the observance of the law." . . . One may compare with this the apposite and earnest words of the Archbishop of Cincinnati quoted in the *Ecclesiastical Review* for March, 1904, page 382.

Father Gietmann continues: "The steps to really carry out the decrees will, however, have to be taken at first under the guidance of the Right Reverend Bishops. The 'Cæcilien Verein'—(and the same obtains for everyone charged either with the superintendence or the execution of church music)—parenthesis ours—does not intend any independent movement contrary to the wishes and will of the Bishops. It is only where the latter deem it good not to give any express directions that the members of the 'Cæcilien-Verein' carry out in practice the papal regulations to the best of their judgment. But there are not a few cases where the bishop of the diocese who overlooks all the circumstances directly influences the church societies and gives them their direction. Consequently, under the existing circumstances the first duty of the 'Cæcilien-Verein' will consist in awaiting the instruction of the respective diocesan authorities. . . . On the other hand, too, this should not serve as a cloak to justify inactivity, if after some time it becomes sufficiently clear that the immediate ecclesiastical authorities forego their rights and prefer to grant the Verein itself freedom of action; for since the Holy See has once

spoken, it is properly the duty of everyone to carry out the commands."

The latter opinion is confirmed by the words of Archbishop Simar of Cologne (Oct. 1, 1898): "Another excuse may be to this effect: 'The bishop has hitherto not passed any general prescription regarding the liturgical chant, and, consequently, neither are we under any obligation.' It is true no such prescription on my part has appeared; nevertheless that plea is founded on a misunderstanding. The laws regarding liturgical chant have long since been promulgated for the whole Church by the highest ecclesiastical authority (the Pope and the Councils) and continue in undiminished force."

If after all that has been said, the writer of these lines were asked for his unauthoritative opinion as to what the individual has now practically to do, he would first state in general: In things of such a nature that their introduction would cause disturbance in the diocese, or (supposing only one person takes up the matter), in his own parish, the individual may and should await the ordinations of the bishop; but in matters, the introduction of which will presumably not be attended by such effects, the individual may and should proceed independently. To be quite practical, moreover, we should express our opinion to the effect that regarding the editions of the plain song and the presence of women in the choir, the directions of the Ordinary are to be awaited; but in regard to the use of no other than truly ecclesiastical music, one should proceed without unnecessary delay and without any direct order on the part of the bishop; however, to the best of one's knowledge and in a prudent way. The same obtains in the observance of the rubrics regarding music, *e. g.*, that the liturgical text should not be curtailed; that the Introit, Gradual, etc., should be sung or recited. The introduction of these reforms will not cause any disturbance; it will, at most, when heard for the first time, occasion some surprise, but no ill will. And should one in authority not allow the organist to act according to the rule given, the latter is not to blame; the whole responsibility then rests on the superior.

LUDWIG BONVIN, S.J.



# **The Indian Mission Problem**

## **Past and Present**



It was Coleridge who claimed: "If we could only learn from history, what lessons it might teach us! But party and passion blind our eyes and the light which experience gives is a lantern on the stern which shines on the waves behind." In studying the history of our country, especially that of its Indian policy, this becomes distressingly patent. Pride ourselves as we may on our diplomatic triumphs, legislative achievements, military victories, territorial expansions, but above all, our boasted sense of fair play, is it not embarrassing, not to say humiliating, that a problem affecting a mere fraction of our population, which has been fully and finally solved by all the Latin races on the American continent, should still clamor for peaceful and equitable adjustment?

The insatiate voracity with which we absorb into our national life the most heterogeneous and seemingly unassimilative elements of every hue, tongue or clime, digest them, mould them into a virile, intelligent, industrious, patriotic citizenship, finds no precedent, stands without a parallel in the annals of mankind. But the insensate repulsion, the inexplicable cruelty which exiles the Indian from his God-given heritage to consort and perish in the society of dehumanized border desperadoes; live under a flag which protects the plenary rights of the lowliest of its citizens, but proclaims him an alien; surrounds him by a diffusion of boundless altruistic and educa-

tional philanthropy, of which he cannot even glean the crumbs of Lazarus; in the midst of incalculable wealth and unexampled prosperity and yet doomed to pauperism—here is a national riddle that demands solution.

For more than a hundred years the lessons history might have taught, remained unheeded. The light of experience in fitful flickerings was dimly burning on the stern of the ship of state, leaving ghastly visions of rapine, war and murder on the waves. More than party or passion, vacillation and expediency, folly and crime, or to use the scathing indictment of the first Board of Indian Commissioners, "spoliation, outrage and murder," tried to relegate the Indian question to the background and the Indian himself—underground. While blundering in policy we were plundering without shame or remorse; while foundering in the meshes of inherited precedents, we were floundering natural integrity on the reefs of self-seeking politics. Our treaties with the Indians were so many treacheries. The hand extended to the Red Man was a mailed one; the olive-branch we held out to him was twined about a keen-edged, blood-dripping sword.

When the government committed itself to the Anglo-Saxon policy of civilization, reflected and enacted by the Puritans, it turned out to be, as might have been anticipated, not only of problematical advantage and uncertain success from an ethical standpoint, but disastrous to the fair repute of the nation and fatal to the life of the Indian. The melancholy humor of the somewhat timeworn witticism that "when landing upon Plymouth Rock, the Puritans first fell upon their knees and then upon the aborigines," is so unassailably in accord with historic facts borne out by the bloody roster of thirty-two exterminated native tribes, that the droll comment "it was

a pity that the Puritans landed on Plymouth Rock instead of Plymouth Rock landing on the Puritans," has more than a semblance of retributive justification. "The Puritans," says an historical writer in a volume fresh from the press, "adopted the Cromwellian method in which they had been bred and trained. They extinguished the Indian title (to lands) by the simple, sure and irrevocable expedient of extinguishing the Indian."<sup>1</sup> "They seized," continues the Protestant Bishop Wilberforce, "without scruple, the lands possessed by the Indian, and it is calculated that upwards of one hundred and eighty thousand of the aboriginal inhabitants were slaughtered by them in Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut."<sup>2</sup> Our American historians, almost all of them descendants of the New England pioneers, have a congenital incapacity for seeing these incriminating truths. In their writings "the tragedies and blunders of English colonization in America are often forgotten," says an eminent Yale professor, "and only the tragedies and blunders of Spanish colonization remembered."<sup>3</sup> Parkman, with his polished cynicism and envenomed sarcasm, while assuming an air of austere historical rectitude, scorns the limit of facts, where the disadvantage of the Anglo-Saxon is concerned, to an extent that Cobden's critical estimate of Lord Palmerston, "he possessed so impartial a mind that he had no bias—not even towards truth," is unconsciously recalled and can accurately be applied. As for Prescott's Mexican nursery tales and Peruvian incredibilities, which still exercise

<sup>1</sup> "William Penn." Augustus C. Buel.

<sup>2</sup> "History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America." Samuel Wilberforce, D.D. Page 82.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Edward Gaylord Bourne. Historical Introduction to "The Philippine Islands." Vol. I, p. 35.

such a fascination and cast such a glamour over the minds of the uncritical historical student, another decade or two will see them in the undisturbed repose of the top shelf as obsolete as the ichthyosaurus or Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy." In short, the whole Indian policy has been, until 1870, to every honest and patriotic-minded American

Only a scene  
Of degredation, imbecility,  
The record of disgraces best forgotten  
A sullen page in human chronicle  
Fit to erase.

The bacteria of European culture administered in Anglo-Saxon serum, a Fourth of July post-prandially exploded formula, has proven a *dead* failure to the Red Man.

How different both in methods and results was not the policy of the Spaniard guided and controlled by the Church? Prof. Bourne, with a clear range of vision that honors American scholarship, brings these differences to a focal point, when he tells us that with the Anglo-Saxon "colonies, from being primarily fields for the propagation of Christianity," as they avowedly and literally were with the Spaniards, "and incidentally for the production of wealth, became the field primarily for commercial and industrial development, and incidentally for Christian work. The change," he admits, "has contributed vastly to the wealth of the world and to progress; but" and in every State of the Union we read the epitaph "it has been fatal to the native populations. The Spanish policy," he continues, "aimed to preserve and civilize the native races . . . and colonial legislation provided elaborate safeguards for the protection of the Indians." Then adduc-

ing the unanswerable argument which every student fully admits, and is only questioned by those still blinking in the palæozoic age of historical research, "the preservation and civilization of the native stock in Mexico, Central and Spanish America, and above all, in the Philippines, stand out in marked contrast, after all allowance and qualifications have been made, with the fate, past and prospective, of the aborigines in North America, the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand and Australia, and clearly differentiates, in their respective tendencies and results, the Spanish and English methods." <sup>4</sup>

What is here said about the Spaniards loses none of its force when applied to the French, who, as Bancroft testifies, "won the affections of the savages . . . and retained it by religious influence. They seemed to be no more masters, but rather companions and friends." The invasion of Anglo-Saxonism he describes as that of "formidable enemies . . . arrogant in their pretensions, scoffing insolently at those whom they superseded, driving away their Catholic priests and introducing the traffic of rum, which, till then, had been effectually prohibited." <sup>5</sup> Even Parkman is constrained to confess "France aimed to subdue not by the sword, but by the cross. . . . She invaded but to convert, to civilize and embrace them (the Indians) among her children."

More than a hundred years ago Thomas Jefferson maintained, with that political prescience which almost endows him with the gift of prophecy, that "Great Britain's governing principles are conquest, colonization, commerce and monopoly." The dictum is as true to-day as it was then. Christianization, civilization, the moral uplifting, the industrial advancement of the dependent

<sup>4</sup>Ut sup. pp. 35, 36.

<sup>5</sup>Hist. United States, Vol. IV, p. 79.

or inferior never entered the purview of its foreign policy.

To what aboriginal missionary triumphs in North America can Protestantism—the term is used in no offensive or invidious sense—point? And it is no solecism to take it as a convertible term for Anglo-Saxonism. What Indian tribe has it ever converted to Christianity? What savage race has it ever led to civilization? Where can it discover the lingering traces of John Eliot's beneficent and philanthropic activity? Does it not seem like the irony of some relentless fate, that within a period of fifty years after his greatest and most enduring achievement, the translation of the Bible into the Massachusetts dialect, there was not one Massachusetts Indian surviving to read or hear it? And in our own day, who does not recall Bishop Whipple, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, acclaimed by a concurrent Protestant sentiment, the "Apostle of the Indians"? What remains of that half-century of unflagging zeal, generous design and consecrated devotion to the Chippewas? Let the shepherdless flock of about three hundred and fifty communicants in Minnesota, the four thousand Catholics, many of them, with all the chiefs save one, converts from Episcopalianism, give the reply.

Compare with the well-intentioned, but resultless efforts made by men whose motives we do not impugn, whose zeal we do not question, whose sincerity we do not impeach, whose financial resources and institutional machinery were as complete as modern methods and munificent encouragement could make them, compare with these the conquests of a Las Casas, Bracamante, Portello, Jogues, Allouez, Brebeuf, Marquette, Lamberville, Lalle-mant, Serra, de Smet and Marty? And yet these are the men whom a myopic historiography "had sometime in derision, and for a parable of reproach . . .

esteemed their life madness and their end without honor," but we know that "they are numbered with the children of God and their lot is among the saints," and their memory an imperishable legacy treasured in the heart of the Red Man.

Is it necessary, in singling out results, to point to the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay, with their 150,000 converts of thrifty, edifying, pure and blameless lives; their industrial development, which in less than a century lifted them from the condition of indolent, intractable savages to the level of expert artisans, so that clocks, pipe-organs, bells, musical instruments, artistic sculptures, quaint carvings, printing-presses, exquisite lace-work, attest a craftsmanship, patient and skilful, ingenious and inventive? Or their agricultural development in cultivating garden, field and plantation, raising an acreage and quality of wheat, rice, indigo, tobacco, sugar cane, cotton, that have never been surpassed, seldom equalled, to this day with all our modern improvements in machinery? Is it necessary to recall the golden era of the California missions under the guidance of the Franciscan friars, with their 30,650 neophytes? The carpenters, masons, coopers, tile-makers, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, stone-cutters, brick-makers, lime-burners, bear testimony that the monastic maxim *consilio manuque*, "by counsel and deed," was not a pedagogic shibboleth, but a literal accomplishment. The mills, machines, bridges, roads, irrigation canals, not to allude to the fifteen missions, which even in their abandoned, ruinous, weed-covered desolation, fill us with admiration and awe, not unmixed with sorrow and mortification—again unfold a tale of a well nigh miraculous success. And if we take the official statistics of the Franciscan missions as late as 1833, when the Mexican government secularized and confiscated them,

and find their Indians in possession of 424,000 head of horned cattle, 321,000 sheep, 62,000 horses—not to dwell upon the agricultural output—we have results, triumphs, that should for all time shame into silence and confusion the carping critics of Friar methods. All the Indians in the United States according to the last official statistics own 288,884 cattle, 96,961 sheep!

But we need not recur to events as remote as those recalled here. Our own day affords cumulative evidence that the Indian's susceptibility to yield to the influence of Catholic teaching and ministration continues unchanged and unimpaired, and the power of the Black-robe to reach and reclaim him, has in no way been abridged or weakened. The annual reports<sup>a</sup> of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and of the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions—will dispel any such impression. The Catholic report is the first of its kind ever published, and is in every sense an admirable one. It is clear, accurate, painstaking, an unfailing source of instruction. It may not be as complete and exhaustive as one would desire—some missionary details and statistics being unavailable at the time of publication—but it can be looked upon as authoritative. As it stands, it cannot fail to be a revelation to most readers, a source of pride and encouragement to the heroic mission workers, and a stimulus to every sincere Catholic to redouble his efforts in hastening the day of the Indian's ultimate conversion to the Church.

In 1870, for the first time in our history, we transferred its lantern from the stern to the masthead as a searchlight to shed its rays in front, when President

<sup>a</sup>"Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, etc., for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903." "Report of the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions for 1903-'04."



Grant adopted a policy, which perhaps in contradistinction to that hitherto pursued, was called Peace Policy. This policy was not new, untried, or even American. It was nothing less than a recurrence to that of the maligned Spaniard and Frenchman; and crystallized itself in the good old Catholic maxim—first Christianize, then civilize the Indian. To do this the Administration summoned to its aid the different denominations, making contracts with such as desired to take up the work, to pay a *per capita* appropriation for every Indian child educated. The churches were to erect and equip the buildings and to supply the teachers. The history of the schools which, in official language, were called “contract schools,” extended from 1870 to 1891. It needs no further reference, than that the Catholic schools were an unqualified success and the others hopeless failures. Alarmed by a wave of fanatic, anti-Catholic agitation, cowering before the kennel eloquence of the A.P.A., still more embarrassed by the concerted demand of the unsuccessful denominations to abolish all appropriations, the Government, in a state of momentary terror, revoked them. The equity of such a proceeding, after the Church, at the instance of the Government, made an outlay of one million five hundred thousand dollars in buildings—the humanity of sending hundreds of children adrift into savagery, needs no comment. The denominations who refused to accept the appropriations when they saw the marvellous success of the Catholic schools, and who lent volume to the A. P. A. chorus in demanding the withdrawal of all support to “sectarian schools” however pledged themselves, that they would, even after the suspension of Government aid, continue their schools with unabated vigor and undecreased enrollment. How they carried out this pledge the accompanying statistics show.

The Government report gives the total number of Indians living in the territory of the United States as 270,238. The Catholic Bureau report puts the number of Catholics at one hundred thousand. It can fairly be estimated that one hundred and ten thousand still live in paganism, uninfluenced and untouched to any perceptible degree by Christianity. Twenty thousand, though no longer following the "old ways," and weaned from paganism, have no church affiliation, and the balance belong to some type or shade of Protestantism.

Our missionary efforts, in spite of twenty centuries of success, in spite of the fact that even at this moment they exercise a resistless sway over the Indian, do not seem to commend themselves to our Protestant friends. "It is customary," says the same Prof. Bourne already quoted, "for Protestant writers to speak with contempt of Catholic missions, but it must not be forgotten that France and England were converted to Christianity by similar methods. The Protestant ridicules the wholesale baptisms and conversions, and a Christianity not even skin-deep; but that was the way in which Christianity was propagated in what are the ruling Christian nations to-day. The Catholic," he justly contends, "might ask for some evidence that the early Germans or the Anglo-Saxons would ever have been converted to Christianity by the methods employed by Protestantism."

Our educational endeavors, in spite of difficulties and hardships of a really harrowing character at times, assume a significance and display a zeal out of all proportion with the meagre means to sustain them. At the time of the withdrawal of Government appropriations, the suddenness and unpreparedness of the situation, created an ominous, even critical, condition. It was only the providential intervention of Rev. Mother M. Katherine

Drexel that averted one of the most deplorable calamities that ever threatened the Church in the United States, not only jeopardizing all educational work among the Indians, imperilling the souls of four thousand helpless children, but nullifying the labors, prayers and martyrdoms of four centuries of apostolic work. Since then she has been practically supporting our Catholic Indian schools, and alone carried the Red Man's burden.

The Government maintains 26 non-reservation boarding schools, "located, as a rule, near the centres of civilization and away from reservations," with an average attendance of 7,993 pupils; 91 reservation boarding schools with an attendance of 9,774; 140 day schools near the homes of parents, with an attendance of 3,287, making the total attendance at Government schools 20,876, with 2,282 teachers and employees. For the support and maintenance of these schools \$3,522,950 were paid out of the National Treasury for the year 1903, an average of \$160 for each pupil.

The Catholic Indian Bureau and "private charity," which, as we know, individualizes itself in one person, supports 71 reservation boarding schools for boys and girls, 26 day schools with an average attendance of 6,050, of which number 1,108 Indian children attend white Catholic schools. The support of these schools cost \$172,434.31 last year. Of this the Bureau raised \$32,434.41, a small part was contributed by the annual Indian and Negro collection, and the giant's portion came from that munificent, self-effacing source, "private charity." The appropriation for each pupil in this instance, embracing boarding, clothing and tuition was \$70, instead of the \$160 allowed by the Government.

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<sup>7</sup> Ut. sup., p. 36.

The Protestant educational work is really a negligible quantity. Some denominations like the Methodist Episcopal Church, at one time vigorous advocates of it, have abandoned it altogether, and others maintain a merely nominal existence, in some instances to prevent the lapsing of testamentary endowments. And this in spite of the solemn asseverations that they would continue their schools even if the appropriations were not available! The Presbyterian Church supports four schools, with an attendance of 220 pupils; the Congregationalist Church 4 schools, with 127 pupils; the Protestant Episcopal Church 3 schools with 119 pupils; the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) 1 school, with 37 pupils; the Lutheran Church 1 school, with 6 pupils—a total of 590 pupils.

Yet, while the Roman Catholic Church pays \$172,434.-31 for its Indian schools and missions of 100,000, Protestantism contributes \$356,112 for less than one-half that number, having over 250 missions, including 141 women engaged in the work.

Of the 270,238 Indians 102,130 are "travelling the white man's way," live in log houses, wear citizen's dress, and are thrifty and industrious. About 62,616 can read and speak English fairly well. All of them cultivate with profit 361,680 acres of land. Some of these civilized Indians when away from the influence of the missionary, show such an abnormal adaptability to plunge into all the refinements of modern American life, that it forms the despair of ethnologists and some embarrassment to the Government. Thus, instead of indulging the immemorial proclivity of adding to their personal assets by stealing horses, they now increase their bank accounts by betting and racing them; instead of following their primitive habits of quenching their feverish thirst at nature's re-

freshing fountains, they now, more modernized, slake their parched throats with the pale face's contraband firewater; instead of pursuing the fleet-footed game roaming the prairies, with bow and arrow, they now manifest an inordinate addiction to the more subtle game played in unobserved privacy, with patriotically colored chips of red, white and blue; instead of trapping the grizzly bear in his pit, they now buck the tiger in his lair; even that culmination point of American culture—divorce—they cultivate with an assiduity that would discount, if it were in the range of possibility, the white man, and shame their pagan forefathers into discomfited abashment. By a singularly good fortune these aboriginal "progressives" are few and their genus can only be found in the stratifications of cow punchers and broncho busters and in the ethnologic bric-a-brac exhibited in our Wild Western shows.

The Peace Policy, which from 1877 to 1903 expended no less than \$45,667,101 in educating the Indian, has taken giant strides towards an ultimate solution, and accomplished more in twenty-six years than in the two preceding centuries of Anglo-Saxon policy. It is true, that at first sight the Indian school machinery seems cumbrous and costly, but it is futile to deny, if humanely and honestly administered, it will accomplish its end and show a large figure on the credit side of the national ledger. Our Indian wars since 1776 cost the nation \$850,000,000, not to speak of the sacrifice of life, destruction of property, paralysis of frontier trade and check to exploration. The present system, should it continue for the next fifty years, an improbable, even impossible supposition in the light of present events, cannot exceed \$200,000,000.

The Catholic apostolate, which leavens this population

of one hundred thousand Indians, is of a territorial extent, a diversity of language, a difference of climate, custom and life, fairly bewildering. The 152 priests, about one hundred of whom are distinctively Indian missionaries, attend 178 churches and chapels. These missions are found in 17 States and Territories, and necessitate a speaking knowledge of more than fifty different languages and dialects. The territory that some of these missionaries cover and the duties that devolve upon them, may be fairly illustrated by taking one as a standard, which in a greater or less degree, may be applied to all. St. Francis Mission, South Dakota, has two Jesuit missionaries, who, besides attending the flourishing school of 270 children, and the community of 17 sisters attached to it, have a parochial domain of six thousand square miles of prairie land. Of course the whistle of a locomotive never disturbs the serene tranquillity or banishes the idyllic charm of their isolated lives. A sick call one hundred and fifty miles on horse-back or in a buckboard, equipped with tent, folding sleeping cot, cooking utensils, "jerked beef," horse feed, vestments, etc., is an incident not unknown to the dauntless missionary, and a sight not unfamiliar to the venturesome tourist. More frequently he shares the sybaritic comforts of the Indian tepee, sleeping on the ground, and appeases his hunger with the traditional culinary creations, not the most appetizing at times, of the hospitable squaw.

In addition to this arduous work, they, in common with the secular priests adjacent to Government schools, must provide for the spiritual wants of 3,118 children attending them—wants more urgent and imperative than those of their own schools. These, owing to the lack of means and accommodation on the part of our schools, are obliged to attend the Government schools. Living

in an atmosphere that at best makes the spiritual subsidiary to the intellectual, surrounded by subtle and insidious influences calculated to impair, even destroy, the faith, frequently under the thralldom of superintendents whose anti-Catholic bias is ill-concealed, with the public non-sectarian services conducted by a minister of some denominational church—the chance of a faith surviving such an ordeal, without the aid of counselling help and the grace of the Sacraments, is not hopeful. Fortunately, in some of the larger non-reservation schools a different spirit, broader intelligence and helpful effort prevails, indicated by the fact that out of the 3,118 Catholic children attending these schools, we find the report of 39 baptisms, 379 confirmations, 271 First Holy Communions, 2,677 confessions and 2,153 Holy Communions. It must be regretfully confessed that a lack of *savoir faire*, tactful discretion and priestly zeal at times may be measurably responsible for a not more desirable and amicable condition in some localities. Frictions and collisions, with the application of circumspection and charity, can be reduced to a minimum. In case of real, well-authenticated grievances, if presented to the proper authorities in a straightforward, dignified manner, redress will certainly be obtained. Wild and infuriated newspaper protests defeat their own end, handicap the Bureau and exasperate the Indian Department.

The missions almost invariably have the schools attached to them, with a teaching personnel of 109 priests, mainly Jesuits, Benedictines and Franciscans, and, of recent date, Carmelites. To this list a strong contingent of secular priests must be added. About seven different Sisterhoods—with 384 sisters—have charge of the girls, and 24 teaching brothers, 49 lay brothers (industrial and agricultural teachers), 10 scholastics and 55 secular

teachers have the boys in charge, and complete the full list of 631 teachers.

One phase of the work, so potent in the primitive Church, but now almost fallen into abeyance, is the employment of the catechist, a helpful ally, indeed, an almost necessary adjunct to every missionary station. Usually the selection of an Indian of strong character, tried virtue and proven sincerity, is made, who proves to be the mission's sentinel and picket. In the camps that cannot be visited on account of distance, blizzards, freshets, etc., he exercises a lay apostolate, as touching as it is effective. He visits tepee after tepee, prays with the sick, watches with the dying, instructs the children and the aged desirous of joining the Church, baptizes dying infants, and in hot haste mounts his pony and scurries over the prairie to inform the priests that some critically sick man or woman yearns for the last rites of the Church. On Sundays he summons the Catholics to a log hut or in the open air, conducts lay services by reading the gospel of the day in their native tongue, singing hymns, reciting the rosary and again instructing the children. He devotes all his time to this, usually necessitating the use of two or three ponies—and does it, as a rule, without compensation. Of these no less than sixty-nine are employed, rendering service which is, in a sense, invaluable. If this small army could be doubled, by paying some trivial salary—ten dollars per month would perhaps be satisfactory—no doubt great blessings would accrue and many more souls be saved. The catechist is the chief mainstay of missionary Protestantism, which usually has the resources to pay him well for his labors.

The Catholic Indian Bureau records two features which should receive the widest prominence and which will be hailed with satisfaction and pleasure. The one is the



conciliatory, friendly, even cordial relations existing between the Indian Department and the Bureau. The relations hitherto have been strained, distrustful, belligerent almost to open warfare, an annoyance and sorrow to all well-wishers of Indian education. Under the firm and fearless policy of President Roosevelt and the enlightened and just administration of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Jones, a strong reaction has taken place toward helpful alliance, a coalition of interests and a healthy impetus given to the Indian work in all its branches and ramifications. The studied rudeness and ostentatious arrogance of a Browning and Morgan, would find little tolerance in the eyes of a President who is intimately familiar with all the details of the Indian Question and who has the courage to frown upon every outbreak of bigotry and dishonesty, even if firmly intrenched, clerically garbed and menacingly assertive. The monstrous Browning ruling, by which children could be forced from contract to Government schools in spite of parental rights or predilections, now rests, in the idiomatic phrase of its originator's political chieftain, by his side in a state of innocuous desuetude; two Catholics, in the persons of Archbishop Ryan and Charles J. Bonaparte, for the first time in its history, have been appointed members of the Board of Indian Commissioners; religious instruction, attendance at Mass is insisted upon in some, and allowed in all Government schools and an effectual quietus placed upon the professional proselytizer; the ruling by which children attending contract schools were deprived of the rations stipulated by treaty has been abolished by Congressional enactment; parents deriving income from tribal funds can now use them to send their children to schools of their own choice; agents who have shown a pernicious activity in meddling in church affairs have been sum-

marily dismissed—and all in all, every Catholic will experience a sense of relief, joy and gratitude to realize that for the first time in many years, to use the italicized words of the Bureau Report, "It can now be truthfully stated that the Bureau has no grievance against the Administration."

The second feature is the formation of a sentiment, resulting in the establishment of popular, methodical Catholic action, to assist our mission work. The entire Indian Catholic school system is constantly in a precarious state. It hangs upon the single slender, precious thread of one life. The death of Rev. Mother Katherine, a calamity we pray God may avert many years, would precipitate our Indian schools into the same critical predicament from which her generosity alone rescued them in 1895. With this Damoclean sword dangling over our heads, it was but natural that our archbishops should forestall such a dreaded eventuality. They accordingly urged the formation of the "Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children" throughout the United States, in which, by an annual contribution of twenty-five cents, membership is secured. The future hope of our missions depends upon the successful expansion and activity of this society. Last year it contributed \$25,937.55, but the ambition and hope of its promoters is that it will reach a membership of 800,000, with a revenue of \$200,000. "The American Federation of Catholic Societies" announce it as its first national issue; the "R. K. Central Verein" and the "League of the Sacred Heart" have likewise taken it up as one of their special works.

A movement full of promise and worthy of all commendation is the formation of the "*Marquette League*," composed of some of the most prominent and philan-

thropic Catholic laymen of New York City, which is to be an auxiliary to the above society. By making the scope of action more comprehensive, they appeal for chapels, the support of missionaries and catechists and hope by persistent and aggressive agitation in press, by leaflets and on the platform to reach the classes who are disposed to give more than the pittance of twenty-five cents. Its battle-cry is "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam" and its countersign "national reparation for a 'Century of Dishonor.'" By establishing councils in all large cities it designs to reach all Catholics in the more prosperous walks of life.

What of the Indian's future? The Indian's attitude to the Church runs through the whole history of American colonization, and is to-day as pervasive as ever. By inherited instinct and unbroken tradition he is a Catholic. The mere word "Blackrobe" was to the Indian ever a magic to conjure with, the uplifted crucifix in his hand the most potent of talismans, the Great Prayer, as he termed Holy Mass, an open sesame to his devotional nature; and that wonderful soul, schooled in hardship, disciplined to poverty, habituated to privation, and always radiating a consuming love for souls—can we wonder that in the eyes of the poor savage he alone possessed the indubitable credentials of being the accredited messenger and servant of the Great Spirit?

When more than sixty years ago the Flatheads sent four separate embassies, two of which were destroyed, one by disease, the other by massacre, from the distant Rocky Mountains to St. Louis, through a trackless country, ambuscaded by deadly enemies, fording swollen streams and swimming treacherous rivers, urged by one impelling motive, to secure the ministration of a Blackrobe; when the dreaded Sioux nation, still steeped in paganism, sent

forth its eight most illustrious warriors and medicine men to welcome Father de Smet, and with every manifestation of reverence placed him on a richly adorned Buffalo robe and then amid joyous acclamations and gorgeous ceremonial carried him in triumph to the crowded council chamber; when Hole-in-the-Day, a name that does not pale by the side of a King Philip, a Pontiac, a Tecumseh or a Blackhawk, besought the Chippewas to unite with the "French Religion" as being the only one that would bring them happiness here and lead them to the Great Spirit; when the dying Spotted Tail, "King of the Sioux," gave his pipe to his tribal successor with the sacred injunction to hand it to the first Blackrobe whom he should encounter and beg him to remain with his people; when only a few days ago a Seneca chief knocked at the portals of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington, pleading with the Great Blackrobe Chief's representative, to send his people a missionary—in all these spontaneous exhibitions of a thirst for divine knowledge we have but the reflex sentiment of the entire Indian nation, that its desire and hope is to be Catholic, that the Catholic Church alone can satisfy the yearnings of its soul and silence the clamors of its conscience and lead it to the footstool of the Great Spirit.

In the light of past history, as well as under the pressure of existing conditions, it cannot be accentuated with too much stress and insistence, that it is the imperious duty, the divinely mapped destiny of the Church in the United States to grapple and complete this work. The psychological moment, or rather the heaven-appointed hour, was never more manifest than precisely now. Twenty years hence, the golden opportunity will have vanished, and with it the last remnant of the North American Indian.

REV. H. G. GANSS.

# The Concordat of 1801.\*



## I.

THE curious prophecy which Tasso made in the *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, 1593, was fulfilled with singular completeness two hundred years after.

The Revolution of the sixteenth century struck at Catholicism; the Revolution of the eighteenth at Christianity. A hundred years ago the movement of ideas whence it sprang was checked, but not destroyed. As it is renewing its life now, a consideration of the steps which successfully stayed it then may not be without interest.

Since the Middle Ages the laws of the Church had, in France, been the laws of the State. The Revolution destroyed that alliance. From 1614 to 1789 the States General never met. So desperate had become the financial distress of the country, that in 1787 the privileged classes, nobility and clergy, spontaneously renounced all exemptions from public charges: a spirit of loyalty accentuated in 1789 by sacrificing all their privileges without reserve. But even this did not satisfy the new spirit. Louis XVI. was too inexperienced in the ways of turpitude to cope with it. France became the "huge reservoir whence the waters of blood of the Revolution overflowed the world."

On October 10, 1789, Talleyrand moved in the Assembly that all property of the clergy should become

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\* A review of Rinaieri's "Papal Diplomacy in the XIX. Century."

National property. A decree gave effect to this. The sale of four hundred millions of such property was decided. The following year conventual and monastic life was abolished. The 136 dioceses of France were reduced to eighty-three. Benefices, priories, and abbeys were confiscated. On November 27th, the civil constitution of the clergy—which, on the authority of Thiers (in this instance non-suspect), was the work of the Jansenists—became law. By it, bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by the electoral assemblies of the Departments, *i.e.*, by the people—Jews, Atheists, Christians. Bishops thus elected were to proceed without Pontifical confirmation, being confirmed by Metropolitans. Before consecration, all were publicly to take a stringent oath of fidelity to the new order of things. No bishop was to have governmental jurisdiction in his own diocese without consent of his Council. The parish priests were to choose their curates with or without approval of the bishop. No foreign bishop was to interfere with the Church in France, without prejudice, however, to union with the head of the Church. By this law the Pope had no jurisdiction in France; the bishops became salaried functionaries of the State. All bishops and parish priests refusing this oath were to be deprived of office, and if persisting, were exiled. All the bishops but four—one being an archbishop—refused the oath; as also did 50,000 of the clergy. "Par ma foi," exclaimed Mirabeau, "si le profit est pour nous, il faut en convenir l'honneur est pour eux." The first of the new bishops elected by the people were consecrated by the excommunicated ex-Bishop of Autun—Talleyrand.

On April 13, 1791, Pius VI., by the Bull *Caritas*, condemned the civil constitution, forbade taking the oath, declared null the elections of new bishops, and suspended those who had been consecrated.

The Republic being founded, civil marriage and divorce were introduced. The Convention abolished Catholicism, the religion of centuries—and the worship of Reason was inaugurated in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Churches were closed, or turned to secular uses; all outward signs of religion were forbidden. The faculties of Theology, Medicine, Law, and Arts were suppressed throughout the Republic. On March 31, 1794, the existence of God was publicly denied. The Atheism of Diderot and d'Helvétius triumphed. If, later, the Deism of Voltaire and Rousseau regained ground, it was only a nominal change. The spirit remained the same. Diderot's hopes, in *Les Eleuthéromènes*:—

“ Et ses mains, ourdissant les entrailles du prêtre,  
En feraient un cordon pour le dernier des rois,”

were realised with terrible completeness, as regards priests in the September massacres. They made a clean slate of priest, altar, God, and Christianity.

The Directory followed the lurid Convention. The latter had decreed death to the priests, and saw to its being mercilessly carried out. The Directory treated them only less brutally. The words of Bailley, “ Quand la loi parle, la conscience doit se taire,” became a rule of life.

Carnot sent three armies against Austria. Bonaparte commanded the third, that of Italy. To save Bologna and Rome, Pius VI. obtained the truce of Bologna, 1796, by paying twenty-one million francs and works of art, in addition to contributions exacted from Bologna, Ferrara, and Faenza. The Pope having refused to withdraw his Briefs against the civil constitution of the clergy at the bidding of the Directory, they declared the truce broken, and Bonaparte seized Ancona. Deserted by all his allies, save Naples, the Pope asked for peace. A treaty, even

more disastrous than that of Bologna, was signed at Tolentino (1797). The Pope ceded Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; paid thirty million francs, besides horses and food for the army of occupation. Jewels, ornaments, and church vessels had to be sold to meet the payment.<sup>1</sup> Cruel as were these terms, they were less ruinous than the instructions Bonaparte had from the Directory. Its wish was to annihilate the Papal throne, but the young General stayed their hand.

Joseph Bonaparte was appointed French Ambassador. Acting under explicit instructions from the Directory, he provoked revolutionary riots, during one of which a French General, Duphot, was killed (1797). In a letter to the First Consul, written by Cacault, when representing France in Florence, 1801, he says: "Le général a été imprudent, tranchons de mot, il a été coupable." Berthier nominally to avenge this death—but as he himself wrote, "for financial reasons," *i.e.*, pillage—seized Rome and proclaimed a Republic. The aged Pontiff, driven from Rome, hounded through Italy, dragged through France, died at Valence in his eighty-second year. In nothing of this had Bonaparte a hand. He was in Egypt.

When, in 1797, Bonaparte created the Cisalpine Republic at Milan, Italy lay at his feet. When, in 1799, he hurriedly returned from Egypt, the Cisalpine Republic had collapsed; the Parthenopean Republic at Naples had

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<sup>1</sup> Remembering these immense losses, it is very striking that during the whole negotiations for the Concordat not a single suggestion of restoration of its provinces or temporal benefit ever was made by the Papal Court. So purely religious was the Pope's aim that when, after the Concordat, Cardinal Fesch, on behalf of the Emperor, suggested restitution of the three provinces, if the Pope would accept the organic laws and the intruded bishops, Pius firmly refused it.



effaced itself and received back the King; and the Roman Republic had dissolved on the Pope's return. Italy was lost to France.

By the *coup d'état* of the 18 Brumaire, an VIII. (Nov. 9th, 1799), Bonaparte became First Consul; Cambacérès a jurist and moderate, Second Consul; and Lebrun, inclined to constitutional royalty, the Third. Talleyrand had Foreign Affairs, and Fouché (who "effected some good and a great deal of evil"), Police.

The following year Bonaparte opened the second Italian campaign: entered Milan and re-established the Cisalpine Republic—Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna. His victory at Marengo placed all northern Italy once more in the power of France.

When at Milan Bonaparte is generally supposed to have spoken at some length to the clergy, as the defender of religion, which he declared to be the most solid basis of social, political, and moral life. The authenticity of this speech has been impugned. At any rate, after Marengo he attended a solemn *Te Deum* at Milan Cathedral in full dress; and wrote to his fellow consuls: ". . . . To-day, despite what our Paris Deists may say, I go with full ceremonial to the *Te Deum* they sing at the Cathedral." Passing through Vercelli he conversed with Cardinal Martiniana, with the result that the latter wrote to the Pope that Bonaparte had in mind the restoration of religion in France, and wished him to place the matter before His Holiness.

## II.

Bonaparte's scheme, as outlined in Martiniana's letter to the newly elected Pius VII., was this: Both the exiled and constitutional bishops to resign. New ones to be chosen by the Government and instituted by the Holy

See. The bishoprics to be reduced as far as possible. The alienated Church property to remain in present hands; but, as indemnity, an annual sum to be paid by the Treasury to bishops and clergy.

This was the young conqueror's idea. Having conquered anarchy, he, whose youth had been passed amid religious apostacies and profanations, whose life had been surrounded with scandals we cannot name, determined to recover the country's lost dignity, to recall its Government to civilization, by making religion the basis of its political edifice. The "*Rendez-nous notre Dieu*" of "the giants" (his own expression) of La Vendée, had penetrated beyond his ears. "*Je leur rendrai tout cela,*" he himself declared to the Abbé Bernier. That was not, however, the idea of the French Government. If they were forced into the re-establishment of Catholicism in France, it should be without any of the prerogatives it formerly enjoyed, while demanding for themselves all prerogatives enjoyed by the former Kings of France.

The Pope chose Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, who had followed Pius VI. into exile and watched over his last hours, to proceed to Vercelli and explain fully the intentions of the Holy See. A congregation of five Cardinals considered, and gave him, his instructions. But feeling that at Paris they would have him at their greater advantage, isolated, so to speak, from his base, the Government summoned him there. Under these new conditions the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, instructed Spina "*udire e riferire,*" to watch and report. His duty was, dealing only with spiritual matters, to examine the ground, test its soundness, and narrow it within acceptable limits. This was necessary, as Rome was warned by Labrador, the Spanish Ambassador, that

France intended to make political capital out of the affair. With Père Caselli, a former General of the Servites, as theologian, Spina arrived in Paris, November 5, 1800.

### III.

"In seeking to reconcile the France of Rousseau and Robespierre to the unchanging policy of the Vatican," says Mr. J. Holland Rose, "the 'heir to the Revolution' was essaying a harder task than any military enterprise. . . . the most difficult negotiation of his life." Knowing this, he had hoped for a Cardinal-ambassador with all possible pomp, as usually accredited to a European Court. A mere archbishop, and only as delegate, was a keen disappointment. But so pressing was his desire for the re-establishment of law and order on a new political basis, that, despite the multitude of affairs harassing him, he urged the opening of negotiations.

That the object of the French Government in the coming negotiations was entirely a political one—to keep the clergy in a "suitable" dependence, and so to link the ecclesiastical establishments to the Republic, that they should be supports to the public harmony and prosperity of the State—is clear from a report of Hauterive, one of the principal councillors of the Government, printed by De la Meurthe. There was therefore at the outset a conflict between Napoleon's idea and that of the Government. He was surrounded by Jacobins. Not only had he to overcome their opposition to the idea of any re-establishment of religion, but he had to fight, inch by inch, for the only basis he thought durable. This opposition was as active and unscrupulous as it was persistent. To the hordes of Atheists, amateur and otherwise, and the constitutional and married priests, are to be added the many officers, his companions in arms, who were no

less vehement, some of whom contemplated his assassination.<sup>2</sup> It was Consalvi's opinion that Bonaparte was the only one who really wished the re-establishment of religion. "On croirait difficilement les résistances que j'eus à vaincre pour ramener le catholicisme . . . on m'eût servi bien plus volontiers si j'eusse arboré la bannière protestante," we read in the *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*. That he did not succeed in bringing the Government quite to his views does not detract from the truth of the Duc de Ragusa's words: "Il fut presque seul de son avis." That it really was his victory is proved by the bitter enemy of the Concordat, Talleyrand, who acknowledged it was "un des traits de son génie."

The First Consul chose as his negotiator the Abbé Bernier. A clever diplomatist, he had refused the oath of civil constitution, and had been one of the most ardent of the Vendean chiefs. He was a strong Gallican. The first demand of the French Government was that all bishops who had refused the oath, be invited to resign their sees, and on refusal that the Pope should appoint administrators in their place, with right of succession. Spina parried this by insisting that the basis of any agreement must be a declaration that Catholicism is the dominant religion of the State, and that all laws directly contrary to its dogma and rules be entirely abrogated. Rome was not likely to forget it was treating with the ruthless dictator of Tolentino; with a revolutionary government which had harried Pius VI. to the grave; that the Bourbons might return; that there had been a Joseph II.; nor that Vienna, Munich, Palermo, and Madrid were jealously watching every move. And the demand was equitable;

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<sup>2</sup> Pasquier's *Mémoires*, vol. i., 128; also Marmot's *Mémoires*, book vi.

twenty-seven of the thirty millions inhabitants of France had held it uninterruptedly for fifteen centuries. Bernier rejoined by submitting the first of the seven projects, which were discussed before the final one was accepted. Although this contained something approaching the substance of Spina's demand, it was too ambiguous. By the end of December Bernier drafted a second, in which fuller, but not complete, approach was made to Spina's ideas. But Spina remained firm. Early in January, 1801, therefore a third project was devised by Bernier. This, with some minor modifications, Spina probably would have accepted, but a change came over the negotiations. Hitherto we can trace the hand of Bonaparte. Now the Government, alarmed at the progress toward re-establishment, suddenly insist, as a preliminary basis of further discussion, that the bishops who had taken the oath, the Constitutionals, should be recognised and re-established in episcopal dignity by the Holy See. Further, that they should be—they were schismatics—on equal footing with the legitimate bishops—those who had accepted exile rather than take the oath. It was insisted on, also, that the latter should abdicate. The favorable third project was therefore withdrawn by its originators, and a fourth presented. Not only was this less acceptable, but the tone of the French negotiations became less tolerant. It is clear from Bernier's letter to Spina, covering the new project, that it was the Republic, rather than Bonaparte, who not only exacted these conditions, but their immediate acceptance. Spina energetically repulsed this first of a series of unworthy attempts to force him. Bernier's tone hardened; he urged more strenuously, and with some bitterness; concluding with the instruction of his Government, "to demand an immediate and precise reply, as upon it will depend the rupture or continuation of the

pourparlers." The Archbishop's position was not only delicate but serious. Cut off from Rome, with the collected forces of French statesmen, legists and apostates fighting him, the move of bringing him to Paris was clearly unveiled, and as clearly justified Consalvi's suspicion. He asked for passports for a special courier to Rome that he might submit the project and obtain instructions. Bonaparte granted this on January 26th; but Talleyrand delayed the document for a month, February 25th. Meanwhile Spina had sent all four projects to Rome through the Spanish Embassy at Paris.

The French Government persuaded itself that Spina's successive refusals to approve any of the projects were subterfuges by the Pontifical Government to free its States of war by rocking France into a false security. Bonaparte declared too that he began to doubt "Italian loyalty," *i. e.*, Pius VII. and Consalvi. Finding Spina impervious to cajolery or threat, he determined himself to send an envoy extraordinary to Rome with powers, "spiritual and temporal," to settle and sign the convention there with the Pope. One more attempt, however, was made upon Spina with a fifth project. This was the worst yet devised. It reduced the position of Catholicism in France to mere toleration. No wonder this drifting further from Bonaparte's original intention produced a "sad impression" on Consalvi, who might very well doubt if the First Consul could longer control the atheistic determination of his colleagues. This project was accompanied by an unmistakable hint from Bernier that it was the utmost to be expected from the Government; that if refused, they would overthrow religion not only in France, but in Italy and in Rome itself. The brutality of such diplomacy is apparent. Their disgraceful intriguing went yet further. That Mgr. Spina's isolation

might be complete, of the ten letters he sent to Rome between November 5th and January 5th, only one reached its destination. That one was posted, not in Paris, but at Geneva. Consalvi wrote to Spina every week; but after the letter dated November 10th, none came into his hands until that of January 10th.

Bonaparte chose his minister to Rome with the same regard for the Pope as he had shown in the selection of a non-juror in Bernier. François Cacault, Bonaparte's intimate friend, had seen much diplomatic service in Italy under the monarchy, and was favorably known in Rome. Never a courtier, but a rough diamond of straightforward intention, his probity and Breton loyalty fitted him more closely than his Jacobinism. At the risk of fortune and even of life, he always acted with justice towards the Rome he learned to love, and became a sincere Catholic.

He received his instructions March 19th, 1801, arrived in Rome April 8th, and quickly ingratiated himself with the Pope's young Secretary of State. But his presence had this inconvenience: it compelled the Holy See to treat of ecclesiastical affairs with a layman instead of an ecclesiastic, like the Abbé Bernier. Also, it involved that documents would not reach Bonaparte at first hand, but influenced by the glosses, suggestions, and possible objections of a third party.

The kind of opposition Bonaparte had to contend with from his Government is seen in the fact that when Cacault left for Rome to hasten the conclusion of the affair, Talleyrand sent the ex-priest Alquier, a fervid Jacobin, to obstruct settlement, and gain time for a rupture.

The five projects were at once examined by a small congregation of three Cardinals. Their conclusions were to be submitted to the Pope, who would then have them scrutinized by a larger congregation. In a fortnight a

counter project was submitted to His Holiness who passed it on to twelve Cardinals. By April 15th, the Roman project of nineteen articles was ready. In substance it accorded the essence of the French projects. The new—restricted—distribution of dioceses, the suggestion of renunciation of their sees by the lawful bishops, nomination of bishops by the Head of the State, the oath of fidelity to be made to the First Consul; the alienated Church property to remain with present holders; the substituted pensions; the same treatment of married priests as Julius III. granted through Cardinal Pole, and the recognition in the actual government of the rights and privileges the kings of France had hitherto enjoyed.

The inconvenience of having to inform Cacault of the steps taken was apparent at once. As soon as he received the counter project his Breton tenacity made him stand for project five, "tel quel" or nothing. France was to him—forgetting ten years—a Catholic country; so he, a layman, could not understand the insistence that it should "profess, adopt, or return to Catholicism." Hence he refused to forward the Roman project. Thereupon, long and anxious deliberations among the Cardinals from April 30th to May 8th. "Ogni parola costa sudori di sangue," wrote Consalvi to the Nuncios. These delays, *vis-à-vis* of Bonaparte's growing impatience, left Spina on a bed of agitated thorns. The danger of a complete rupture of the whole negotiations became very real. He redoubled his pleadings for an immediate settlement, repeatedly advising Consalvi to distrust both Cacault and Alquier, and to send the convention direct to Paris without referring to either. Spina was right. Bonaparte's suspicion that Rome, misled by Russia, Prussia and England, was temporising, gained strength. The archbishop, upon a forecast of Consalvi's, had promised the



arrival of the documents for April 30th. On May 12th they had not come. Bonaparte, although in Consalvi's shrewd mind "l'homme de la spontanéité réfléchie," lost all patience with his temper; and, storming, roundly threatened to establish some kind of public worship himself, "et qu'alors tous les égards pour le Saint-Siège cesseront du même coup." In effect, on May 13th, Bernier wrote Consalvi that the First Consul charged him to say that further delay would be considered his (Consalvi's) personal fault; that he would regard it as an open rupture, and that he would at once occupy the Papal States under title of conquest. At last, on May 12th, the reconsidered counter-project was finished. That night a courier left post for Paris with a double copy of the convention, a Bull announcing the Concordat to the world, a letter of Pius to Bonaparte, a letter to Spina of full power to ratify, and a long *mémoire* explaining the reason of the Holy See's modifications of the French project. He reached Paris on May 24th. Before his arrival, Bonaparte's impatience, inflamed by Talleyrand, broke all bounds. On May 19th, Bernier sent an ultimatum to Spina, and Talleyrand to Cacault, that if within five days from the receipt of "these despatches," the Bull and Concordat, unchanged in substance or form, were not delivered, the French Minister to Rome would be withdrawn. This Cacault presented on May 30th, but it was useless. Neither Bonaparte nor the Government could intimidate Pius VII. in a matter of conscience. Bonaparte therefore acted. His troops occupied Montefeltro, a dependency of Urbino, and a few days later Pesaro and its neighborhood. The French army in Tuscany was reinforced.

The re-establishment of religion in France was, however, as necessary to Bonaparte as to the Church. That

he should not be worsted in a negotiation with Rome was of more importance to his reputation than to the Pope's. His impetuosity had brought him to an *impasse*. It is to the credit of Cacault that an exit was discovered. He knew Bonaparte's pride would be flattered if he had a Prince of the Church accredited to his Court. He, therefore, proposed that Cardinal Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, should go to Paris and conclude the Concordat there.

Meanwhile Bernier had reported to the First Consul that in substance the Roman project was acceptable, if the form were revised. This was coming too near a settlement to please the Government. Talleyrand therefore found the Roman draft contained two matters inadmissible, viz., that the Government were asked to declare itself Catholic and to conserve the purity of its religious dogmas, contending that it was for citizens, not government, to do both. What then became of *representative* government, it may be asked? So a seventh project was drafted, in which there is more of the hand of Talleyrand than of Bernier. It is dated June 14th, that is, after receipt of Cacault's despatch notifying his failure to force the Pope to sign. Not only were these new articles substantially different from those accepted by the Pope, but all that Spina had from the beginning declared essential to a basis of agreement was suppressed. He at once declared it impossible to sign. Thereupon it was decided to await Consalvi's arrival. He left Rome June 5th, accompanied by Cacault as far as Florence, to deprive the Roman republicans of a pretext for disturbance. Cacault, writing to Talleyrand, as it were, to introduce Consalvi, wisely added: "Vous jugez bien que le Cardinal n'est pas envoyé à Paris pour signer ce que le Pape a refusé de signer à Rome."

Scarcely forty, tall, of good presence, and versed in the affairs of men, Consalvi was a man gifted with great faith of heart and firmness of soul. Prudent without cowardice, supple but firm, he was quick of mind and fertile in expedients. His character had been finely tempered to a patience completed by tenacity—one that could yield to circumstances if principles, which no flattery could move, were untouched; of signal generosity in success: victory never embittered him towards those who had striven against him. Such was the man who alone, without ostentation, faced the astuteness of Talleyrand, the violence of Bonaparte, and the over-reaching zeal of Bernier.

#### IV.

Consalvi reached Paris June 20th, and was well received by Bonaparte, but not so by Talleyrand. Nevertheless, the First Consul gave him clearly to understand that for high State reasons he must have an immediate settlement; that if the new project were not signed within five days—which made reference to Rome impossible—he would break off negotiations and found a national Church. Bernier could, of course, inform and counsel Bonaparte day by day. Consalvi could never do so with the Pope.

This new project, the seventh, Consalvi received from Bernier June 26th, with an order from Talleyrand to give a definite reply the next day. At ten o'clock that night Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli commenced upon a project based upon the Roman one, but approaching as closely as possible this number seven. By four o'clock next morning it was finished and the definite reply ready. (Padre Rinieri publishes the complete text for the first time.) Bonaparte received it on the 28th, the very day, by good fortune or management, Talleyrand left Paris

for the bathing season. On July 1st one more attempt was made, under threats, to force Consalvi to sign project seven pure and simple, but without effect.

Affairs grew so critical that Consalvi wrote to the illustrious Mgr. Di Pietro: "It will be a miracle if we are not shipwrecked. . . . One must do what one can, not what one would." So serious were they, that he advised the Pope to think of a place of refuge in case he had to fly from Rome. Things were thus at their worst when the sky suddenly cleared. On July 7th Consalvi received through Bernier a letter dictated by Bonaparte, by which, in a conciliatory tone he reduced all differences to three. The profession of religious faith of the First Consul, which he wished to be a personal, not an official one; the publicity of Catholic worship, which he wished to be restricted within the churches; and the formula of oath to be taken by the clergy, viz., the old oath formerly taken by the kings of France. Consalvi replied, suggesting a mode by which two of these could be arranged. The third, as to publicity, he felt obliged to refer to Rome. Bonaparte's answer, still conciliatory, left two points—publicity and the formula—still open. Padre Rinieri is the first to publish Consalvi's reply in full. In view of the interpretation given by Bernier's covering letter—that the restriction as to publicity was only temporary—the Cardinal agreed to the modification, and offered to sign the Convention. Bonaparte named his brother Joseph, Cretet, and Bernier to sign for the Republic. This was announced by letter from the Abbé. In a second and later letter of the same day he arranged the rendezvous for eight that evening at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. But this note contained an enclosure: "Voici ce qu'on vous proposera d'abord; lisez le bien, examinez tout, ne desespérez de rien." On the face of it a friendly warn-

ing, a hint of some one's disapproval of the enclosure, and an advice that all need not be lost in case of its rejection. It is incredible, but irrefragably true, that the enclosure was not the project mutually accepted and agreed upon, but the very project—number five—presented at Rome by Cacault and rejected there, and again in Paris. "A mille lieues du notre," wrote Consalvi, almost in despair. It is now perhaps impossible to get at the authors of this discreditable attempt to substitute the document signed. Did Bernier act solely on his own initiative—a very dangerous thing to do—in giving Consalvi the warning? Did Bonaparte know of the trick to be attempted? Theiner says he did not; that it was the work of Meret and Hauterive. De le Meurthe thinks it was the suggestion of Hauterive, with the tacit sanction of the First Consul. Joseph Bonaparte warmly protested his ignorance of any substitution, and Consalvi—who speaks well of him throughout—believed him.

The meeting lasted twenty hours, from 8 P. M. July 13th to the afternoon of July 14th. Consalvi opened it with an energetic declaration that neither he nor his colleagues would sign any convention other than the one already arranged. Article by article therefore had to be discussed over again. When at last the whole had been got through, Consalvi asked that two copies be made and signatures affixed. This was agreed and two copies made. Suddenly the French Plenipotentiaries refused their signature until the draft had been submitted to the First Consul, alleging they had no power. It was sent to Bonaparte, who, incensed beyond endurance by the reiterated delays, on reading it lost all control, tore it to pieces, declaring that if it had been signed he would have torn it up in their faces. For the "third and very last time," he demanded the French project exactly as

it stood. He would hear no answer, would tolerate no change. "Either that or nothing."

This was on the morning of the Fêtes, during which he had intended to announce the Concordat with considerable *éclat*. After the State dinner, at which Consalvi and Spina were guests—but not at the earlier reception—Bonaparte discussed the affair with the Cardinal. He was extremely irritated, and might have rushed into a rupture but for Consalvi's tact. Seeing the Austrian Ambassador, the Comte de Cobenzl, Bonaparte impulsively put the matter to him. The old diplomatist, who knew both his men, suggested a *via media*, which each consented to think over. Hence the Conference of the six Plenipotentiaries was renewed at midday, July 15th. After twelve hours' hard work, an agreement, founded on verbal modifications, was come to: Consalvi obtaining concessions greater than he anticipated. The Cardinal, in view of what had happened the day before, insisted on signatures being affixed there and then. This, after much opposition, he carried, and the great struggle of nine months was over. What those months of arduous and incessant trial meant may be seen between the lines of a letter written the next day by Consalvi to Cardinal Doria, who had taken his post when he left for Paris: "Que votre Eminence me dite ce qu'on peut obtenir de gens qui au fond ne veulent pas la chose; ennemis par principe, nullement compétents ou bien peu dans la matière, qui voient ces choses au point de vue de la politique et de l'interêt, et non d'après les regles de l'Eglise; qui ne se donnent pas la peine de lire, ni d'examiner, les raisons qu'on apporte, et qui avec un bon mot croient éluder le plus solide argument . . ." In the words of Pasquier, it "was the most brilliant triumph over the genius of the Revolution; and all the following successes have, without exception, resulted from it."

Bonaparte, satisfied, was now all eagerness for ratification by the two Sovereigns. This was to take place within forty days. Consalvi left Paris July 25th, and reached Rome August 7th by forced journeys. There he was coldly received, except by the Pope, who welcomed him most affectionately.

## V.

In Consalvi's own words, to Bonaparte alone among the French belongs the glory of restoring religion to France. In the letter to Doria, already cited, he wrote: "Que le Saint-Père, que le Sacré Collège, le sachent bien, le Premier Consul est le seul qui ait voulu l'arrangement. Soyez convaincu que tous les autres sont des ennemis, et, ce qui est pire, des ennemis puissants."

The Revolution was defeated, but by no means destroyed. It determined, and Talleyrand expressed its intentions, that all efforts for the re-establishment of religion should be subordinated to political institutions and laws. That what it had lost by the Convention should be saved by unilateral additions, falsely called "organic articles." Talleyrand at once submitted to Bonaparte a tentative memorandum with this view.

Meanwhile the Pope sent the Convention to a congregation of five Cardinals. The majority reported that Articles 1 (the publicity of worship) and 13 (the alienated church property) could not be ratified. Thereupon six theologian-canonists were appointed to examine the two articles. Of these, three approved ratification, three objected. The two articles were therefore submitted to the whole College of Cardinals then at Rome, their written answers to be ready for the meeting of the Sacred College, in the presence of the Pope, on August 11th. For Article 1, eighteen voted for ratification pure and

simple; eleven desired some reserve or modification. On Article 13 only six or seven were for the negative. Pius VII. decided to ratify both. This ratification, with covering documents, reached Paris August 29th. On September 8th, Bonaparte composed the text of his approbation and solemn ratification, and sent it to Cretet and Joseph Bonaparte. These two met the Papal plenipotentiaries, Spina and Consalvi, on September 10th, when final signatures were exchanged.

At the request of Bonaparte, Cardinal Caprara was, not without reluctance, appointed to the delicate task of supervising the execution of the Concordat. There was surprise, not at Bonaparte's choice, but at Rome's nomination of one whose diplomacy had not always been approved by the Holy See. Though clear-sighted, Caprara was too flexible. Of a disposition gentle and pious, he was inclined to purchase peace at the expense of undesirable sacrifices. His duties were exceptionally onerous, and demanded firmness. They included negotiations for the dismissal of the former bishops, for the nomination of the new ones, the annual indemnity to the clergy, regulations as to seminaries and religious congregations, and so on. "The sequence of events explains and justifies Bonaparte's choice and our repugnance," said Consalvi drily.

Caprara was nominated Legate *a latere* in a consistory, August 24, 1801; left Rome September 5th, and reached Paris by the evening of October 4th. Schism having to be healed, vested interests to be placated, bitternesses controlled, his every act was jealously watched by friends, no less closely than by foes. Bonaparte's energy was always at white heat. Although the Concordat had not yet been solemnly published, he wanted the Bull for the new distribution of dioceses before its due date, and de-



sired that the Cardinal-Legate should at once receive the faculty to confer canonical institution on the new bishops he was about to name. These requests were granted. Bonaparte then intimated that he would choose a third of the new bishops from the Constitutionals. This was entirely against the spirit of the Concordat; such a step was never hinted at during the negotiations. Placed over dioceses without canonical institution, these intruded, or "constitutional" bishops, presented a difficulty thick with thorns: not only from the fact of their intrusion, but also because they were permeated with Jansenism. The Pope's first step upon the ratification of the Concordat was loyally to fulfil it by calling upon all the French bishops—non-jurors and constitutionals—to resign their sees for the sake of peace in the Church. Many of the former—in exile—whether from devotion to the Bourbons, to the Gallican liberties, or fearing their sees would be given over to schismatics, declined to relinquish sees to which they had been duly elected. Quite a number of the Constitutionals resigned the sees into which they had been intruded. But the formula they used in doing so was practically an accentuation of their Gallicanism, if not of Jansenism. There is proof, indeed, that the formula had been dictated by the Government. Councillor Portalis, a former magistrate, but never a Jacobin, now Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, himself speaks of it in a report of October 14th to the First Consul: "*que j'avais redigée.*" The poison of the four Articles of 1682 was everywhere still active in France, and the Government meant to prevent the complete submission of the Constitutionals to the decrees of the Holy See. What was in Bonaparte's inner mind in taking this step is difficult to determine. But we have Bernier's assurance that, by the election of some of the Constitutionals, the First Consul intended to weaken the unity of this body

and so lead to its destruction. It is less than doubtful, however, if the Government, while following his "means," agreed with his "end."

The institution of Constitutionals was peremptorily refused, unless they first retracted their error and submitted themselves to the Holy See as prescribed by the Brief, *Post multos labores*. This was a step of courageous inflexibility, for their numbers, influence, and support by the Government made them a powerful clique, with whom it was dangerous to engage.

In January, 1802, four-fifths of the Tribune and of the Corps Legislatif were renewed with men favorable to the First Consul.

On March 25th the Peace of Amiens was signed, and Bonaparte was at the height of his power.

On April 1st the Concordat, with an additional seventy-seven articles, the inspiration of Talleyrand, supposed to guide or illustrate the execution of its fifteen articles, was presented to the Council of State, and accepted without discussion. On the 8th it passed into law, without discussion, in the Corps Législatif, under the title of *Loi du 18 Germinal, an X*, by 228 votes to 21.

These seventy-seven added articles, drawn up by one contracting party to the Convention only, bearing in places formal contradiction to its text, and dealing with matters appertaining to the other contracting parties, are known as the Organic Articles. They were never seen, never suspected, by the latter until they become law. They established in France an ecclesiastical code without the concurrence of the Holy See. In a full consistory, May 21st, Pius VII. protested against them as a grave violation of promises given by the French Government, and a serious invasion of his rights. On the 27th he wrote Bonaparte, urging the repeal of "Organic Articles, which were never known to us." They may be

described as the quintessence of that Gallicanism to which the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility gave the death blow. They made fast the servitude of the Church to the State.<sup>3</sup> On April 12th twenty-seven bishops were elected, of whom seven were Constitutionals. On the 15th these latter were presented to Caprara for institution. The Cardinal offered them the letter they were to write to the Holy See, containing retractation of their errors and their submission to the Papal judgment against the civil constitution of clergy. They all refused to sign it, suggesting modifications, and presenting an alternative formula. The Cardinal replying that it was beyond his power to accept either, they demanded time for reflection, and adjourned to the house of Portalis. There, with the help of Bernier, now Bishop of Orléans, they drafted a form of submission. But, as Caprara pointed out, it contained no retractation of error. A hurried visit from Bernier, then from Portalis, brandishing the rather worn-out threat of ruining everything, failed. Caprara roundly told them no one could canonically institute those who were in schism unless they confessed and abjured. Once more there was an *impasse*. Caprara, however, offered that if the Constitutionals would declare, *vivâ voce*, in private, before two witnesses, that they renounced the sees they held, and promised true obedience to the Holy See, and full submission to the Brief of Pius VI.—and so implicitly retracted their error—they could receive absolution from all censures incurred. The following day, April 17th, Bernier, into whose hands the negotiations had been placed, reported to Caprara that each of the Constitutionals had written the Holy Father, had fulfilled the conditions, been ab-

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<sup>3</sup> They will be considered, with the text of the Concordat, on a future occasion.

solved, and taken the oath. How much of exact truth there was in this, whether the Bishop of Orléans deceived or was deceived, cannot now be known. The abjuration was to have been made before two witnesses—the Bishop of Orléans and the Bishop of Vannes (Mgr. Pancemont). The latter declared, later, he could not vouch for the abjurations, as he was not present at them. Le Coz, with Lacombe (two Constitutionals), declared that submission and recantation were indignantly rejected by them all.

During three years Pius VII. labored in vain for their retraction or that the Government should supersede them.<sup>4</sup>

At midday, Easter Sunday, April 13, 1802, the three Consuls of the French Republic, with much military pomp, were officially received at the entrance of Notre-Dame by the venerable Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Belley, and his clergy. Cardinal Caprara pontificated. At the Gospel twenty-seven bishops took the oath, kneeling, to the First Consul. Mgr. de Boisgelin preached on the end of the civil war and the peace of Europe, consecrated by a religious peace. Four lines of soldiers gave a military salute at the elevation; and choirs, with full orchestra, conducted by Méhul and Cherubini, entoning the *Te Deum* of Pacciella, filled the old cathedral with joyous harmony.

The song and its echo have since died away.

D. MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

*The Dublin Review*, October, 1903.

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<sup>4</sup>Later in life Napoleon made this reflection: "Tous les anciens évêques eurent ma confiance et nul ne la trompa. Ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que ceux dont j'ai eu à me plaindre sont précisément ceux qui j'avais faits moi-même."—*Mém. de Sainte-Hélène*, tome ii. p. 6.

## Suarez and Regicide.

**A correspondence between the Bishop of Limerick  
and Mr. W. S. Lilly.**

*To the Editor of "The Tablet" :*

LIMERICK, 16th July, 1904.

SIR,—In an article in the June number of *The Fortnightly Review*, Mr. W. S. Lilly maintained that the doctrine of the lawfulness of the assassination of excommunicated sovereigns was in accordance with the teaching of Catholic theologians and the practice of the highest authority of the Church. In support of this view he quoted Suarez as an instance, and wrote :

" Suarez teaches that the slaying by a private individual of an unlawful ruler—and an excommunicated prince was held to have become such—is allowable when the conditions of a just war are present, etc."

I wrote to him—unfortunately I have not kept a copy of my letter—to ask him on what grounds he gave Suarez as an authority for such an opinion, as I believed that Suarez taught explicitly the very contradictory of the doctrine which Mr. Lilly imputed to him, and laid down that a private individual, even in the case of a prince formally excommunicated and deposed, had no right to take the execution of the law into his own hands.

To this Mr. Lilly replied, and as the matter is of some consequence, I shall thank you to find room for the correspondence which ensued.

I am, your obedient servant,

✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.

## I.

THE ATHENÆUM, Pall Mall, S.W., June 13, 1904.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am greatly obliged by your kind letter. The passage of Suarez which I had in view when writing the sentence to which you refer will be found in Disput. 13 *De Bello*, sec. 8, prop. 2, and I think, under correction of your lordship, that it warrants what I have advanced, although I should have been more entirely accurate if I had said an unlawful usurper, not an unlawful ruler. I incline to think that I did write "usurper," and that ruler was substituted by an error of the press; but my MS. has been destroyed, and I am not sure about this. Suarez distinguished strictly between an unlawful usurper and a legitimate but a tyrannical ruler. Of course, as your lordship is well aware, Catholics throughout Europe regarded Queen Elizabeth as an unlawful usurper against whom, in Suarez's words, "*tota respublica et quodlibet ejus membrum jus habet, unde quilibet potest se ac rempublicam e tyrannide liberare.*"

I am, my lord, very faithfully yours,

W. S. LILLY.

To the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

## II.

CORBALLY, LIMERICK, 20th June, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to thank you for your letter of the 13th inst., and to ask your indulgence for my delay in answering it, as I was in the annual retreat with the clergy last week.

As to the point at issue I fear that, even allowing for the substitution of the word "ruler" for "usurper" in your article, your presentation of Suarez's teaching is not quite accurate; I would even go so far as to say that his teaching is the exact contradictory of what you impute to him.

I am quite familiar with the passage which you quote from his treatise *De Bello*, but I do not think that it meets your case. He there lays down that a State, and every member of it, may justly wage war against a usurper who without any valid title seizes on the Government and holds the country down by force, and, if necessary for the overthrow of his oppression, the State itself and every member of it may resist and even kill him.

You then carry the argument a stage further by the proposition that a sovereign who is guilty of heresy, and is condemned and deposed for it by the Pope, *v.g.*, Queen Elizabeth in England, forfeits thereby—in Suarez's opinion—all valid title to the throne, is a usurper, and an oppressor; and you draw the conclusion: therefore according to Suarez it is allowable for any private individual to kill such a sovereign.

Dealing with a writer of the scientific accuracy of Suarez, one has to be on one's guard against widening his words and mistaking our own inferences for his teaching. In this particular instance I am saved the trouble of attempting to show by my own reasoning the invalidity of your inference, because, curiously enough, Suarez has himself done this very thing, and stating *totidem verbis* your view of his teaching and the very argument by which you think that it follows from his principles, as a difficulty to be answered, he formally propounds as his teaching on the point the very contradictory of what you allege that he teaches.

You will find this whole question discussed by him with characteristic lucidity in Vol. 24 of his works—which volume by the way should have a particular interest for you English Catholics. In Lib. vi. cap. iv. sect. 14, he puts the following difficulty to himself: "At vero post sententiam latam omnino privatur regno (rex hereticus)

ita ut non possit justo titulo possidere: *ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam omnino tyrannus tractari et consequenter a quocunque privato poterit interfici.*" You will allow that this is your view as accurately as if Suarez translated your article, and yet he rejects it as an illicit inference from his principles, and as untrue in doctrine.

In Sect. 15 he teaches as most true that a sentence of deprivation and deposition may be lawfully passed on a temporal sovereign. In Sect. 16 he adds that if the crime for which the sovereign is to be deposed be of a spiritual nature, such as heresy, the Supreme Pontiff is the competent authority to pronounce that sentence. Then, Sect. 18, he approaches your point and considers the execution of the sentence, and proceeds: "*Dicendum est . . . post sententiam condemnatoriam regis de regni privatione latam per legitimam potestatem, vel quod perinde est, post sententiam declaratoriam criminis habentem talem poenam in ipso jure impositam posse quidem eum qui sententiam tulit, vel cui ipse commiserit, regem privare regno, etiam illum interficiendo si aliter non potuerit, vel si justa sententia ad hanc etiam poenam extendatur. Non tamen statim posse regem depositum a qualibet persona privata interfici imo neque per vim repelli, donec ei praeceptiatur vel generalis haec commissio in ipsa sententia vel jure declaretur . . . eodemque modo si Papa regem deponat ab illis tantum poterit expelli, vel interfici, quibus ipse id commiserit. Quod si nulli executionem imperet, pertinebit ad legitimum in regno successorem, vel si nullus inventus fuerit ad regnum ipsum spectabit. Et ita tradunt doctores servandum esse in crimine haeresis quando rex haereticus per publicam sententiam regno privatus declaratur.*"

In Sect. 19 he teaches what is elementary morality, that no private person has any authority to kill a person who



is justly condemned, as that authority can come only from a superior, and can be exercised only by him or his minister.

To the suggestion that an implied or tacit commission is contained in the very act of deposition, by which the State deposing the sovereign wishes him to be expelled by every one, and if he resists killed, he answers that this is an irrational suggestion. A judge condemning a private individual does not thereby constitute every other private person his executioner. *A fortiori* in the case of the condemnation of a king: "Nam semper est necessaria prudentia, et justus modus in executione, et magis periculum est turbationis et excessus in coactione personae principis aut regis quam caeterarum. Ergo nec *respublica* nec *Papa regem* haereticum vel aliter tyrannicum *condemnans* omnibus talem licentiam (in illum animadverendi) concedit etiam tacite vel implicite."

It seems to me that nothing could be more distinct and categorical than this denial by Suarez of the right of any private individual to slay a sovereign who has been condemned and deposed for heresy by the Supreme Head of the Church, and consequently that your statement in *The Fortnightly* cannot be sustained.

For the rest it is a matter of so much importance that such a statement should not go abroad on the authority of one of your great eminence, that I have ventured to trespass on your patience to the extent of inflicting this letter on you. I have not done more in it than to quote Suarez's own words, without attempting to draw out their meaning or enforce it. Yet even so I fear that it will be trying, but I must only trust to your kindness.

I should wish to add, what I trust is unnecessary, that I am prompted to address you not from any unfriendly feeling. Quite the contrary. I have read a good deal

of your writings with much admiration and sympathy, but I feel that here we are dealing with a question that affects very intimately the honor, and I would almost say the sanctity, of the Church. When we have done with this point as to Suarez' teaching I shall ask you to allow me to write to you about your statement as to St. Pius V., which I do not think is sustainable.

I am very truly yours in Christ,

✠ E. T., Bishop of Limerick.

To W. S. Lilly, Esq.

### III.

THE ATHENÆUM, PALL MALL, S.W., June 22, 1904.

MY DEAR LORD,—I am much obliged by your learned and interesting letter of the 20th inst., which shall have my best consideration as soon as possible. At the present moment I am overwhelmed with work of various kinds, but hope to be more at leisure in a week or ten days' time. I should take it as a favor if you would send me *forthwith*—should that not be inconvenient to you—the criticism with which you propose to favor me on what I have advanced *in re* St. Pius V. I shall then be in a position to reply on the whole case. And might I ask your lordship to be so kind as to return my former letter, or to send me a transcript of it, as I have kept no copy?

Very truly yours,

W. S. LILLY.

To the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

### IV.

27 EGERTON TERRACE, S.W., July 1, 1904.

MY DEAR LORD,—I will certainly, in compliance with your wish, which is to me equivalent to a command, say now what occurs to me in reply to the letters with which

you have favored me. But I am extremely busy, and must therefore beg of you to pardon me if I say it as briefly as may be, and employ the hand of another.

Your lordship's point is, as I gather from your letter of the 20th inst., that Suarez does not teach "that a Sovereign who is guilty of heresy, and is condemned and deposed for it by the Pope, *v.g.*, Queen Elizabeth in England, forfeits thereby all valid title to the throne [and] is a usurper [whom] it is allowable for any private individual to kill." I reply that if your lordship will do me the honor to read carefully the passage in my *Fortnightly Review* article, which has given rise to this correspondence, you will see that I have nowhere attributed to Suarez the proposition just quoted from your letter.

What I have said is "Suarez teaches that the slaying by a private individual of an unlawful ruler—and an excommunicated prince was held to have become such—is allowable when the conditions of a just warfare are present, when no other means exist for being rid of him, and when the consequences of his death will not be worse than the tyranny itself." I had in view when writing this sentence, a well-known passage in the *Disputatio De Bello* with which your lordship is, of course, acquainted. You will observe that I do not say "an excommunicated ruler was held by *him* to have become such." There are writers of authority, as your lordship is doubtless aware, who do attribute to Suarez the position that a legitimate ruler who has been lawfully deposed is to be treated as an illegitimate usurper, because, having been rightly deposed, he has ceased to be a legitimate ruler; and, unless my memory is much in error, they are not without plausible warrant in so doing from his works, which are now before me, though I have not time to search them. But whether this be a legitimate, or (as I incline to think with your

lordship) an illegitimate application of his doctrine, it certainly is an application of it which was once popular among Catholics.

You will remember that I was concerned with Suarez and his teaching only incidentally. My point was that the argument in favor of Shakespeare's Protestantism derived from the language about tyrannicide which he puts in the mouth of Pandulf is untenable, because that language expresses sentiments widely held by Catholics, and, what is more, acted upon by them, as the celebrated royal murders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sufficiently show. And I think it probable that Suarez himself felt the force of the inference thus drawn from his principles, as in his *Defensio Fidei*, written years after the *Disputatio De Bello*—I think the date is 1613—he guards against it. It was natural that James I. should—if I may so put the matter—inquire nervously "What about me? Am I a fitting subject for private assassination if the Pope should depose me?" Suarez's reply is, in effect, "No: not unless the Holy See should so regard you, which you really need not apprehend;" "non tamen statim posse regem depositum a qualibet privata persona interfici, imo nec per vim expelli, donec ei praecipiat vel generalis commissio haec in ipsa sententia vel jure declaretur." But this saving clause does not appear to have reassured James I. Clearly, however, the inculcated passage of my *Fortnightly Review* article was not sufficiently guarded, and the erroneous impression which it has conveyed to your lordship has doubtless been conveyed also to less accurate and disciplined minds. I shall, therefore, amend it when republishing the article, which will find place in a volume of essays to be brought out in the autumn, and thank you sincerely for calling my attention to it. Allow me to add that I feel greatly the kindness of

the expressions which you use in your letter of the 20th inst. about such of my writings as you have done me the honor to read.

And now I await the remarks with which your lordship has promised to favor me on the Bollandists and St. Pius V.

I am, my dear Lord, very truly yours,

W. S. LILLY.

To the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

V.

CORBALLY, LIMERICK, July 4, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me to express my disappointment at your letter of the 1st inst. which I have just received. In order to compare the position which you took up in *The Fortnightly Review* with that at which you have now arrived, I shall just quote the part of a sentence which you are engaged in defending:

"Suarez teaches that the slaying by a private individual of an unlawful ruler—and an excommunicated prince was held to have become such—is allowable when the conditions of a just war are present, etc."

Now you admit that there is in this a serious error, possibly attributable to the printer, in your having written "ruler" instead of "usurper." The next important point is that the phrase "Suarez teaches" is not used in its conventional sense, but means that you infer that he teaches.

Furthermore, in order to make the passage from Suarez' treatise *De Bello* at all relevant to your argument you found it necessary to insert the sentence between hyphens—"and an excommunicated prince was held to have become such"—but now, in order to evade the force of the passage which I quote for you, you say "you will

observe that I do not say an excommunicated ruler was held by *him* to have become such." But do you not see that in the first place this reservation was hardly fair to your readers in *The Fortnightly*, and in the next makes your quotations of Suarez simply meaningless by excluding the proposition which connects it with your argument? You go farther and say that you incline to think that it is an "illegitimate application" of Suarez' doctrine to infer that a legitimate ruler who has been lawfully deposed is to be treated as an illegitimate usurper, although by doing so you cut the ground from under your own feet, and deprive yourself of the only grounds on which with any show of reason you could connect the great name of Suarez with the shocking doctrine you attribute to him.

This would be all bad enough if I had confined my remarks to negative criticism of your statements; but I think that, in face of the evidence which I have given you that Suarez' teaching is categorically the contradictory of what you imputed to him, your letter of the 1st inst. is not sufficient. Suarez teaches in express terms and demonstrates at considerable length that it is not allowable for a private individual to kill a sovereign who has been excommunicated and deposed. You asserted in your article in *The Fortnightly* that the lawfulness of tyrannicide was strenuously maintained by Catholic Divines of great name and authority, you go on to quote Suarez, but now you have to admit that in order to stretch Suarez' doctrine so as to cover the case you have in your mind it was necessary to make an application of it which you yourself are now inclined to think was illegitimate. Is this fair? Was it fair to the Protestant readers of *The Fortnightly Review* to keep the words "*but not by him*" in your own mind, when, if you had written them, you might as well have quoted Isaac Newton as Suarez?

Is it fair to the Catholic Church to make believe that one of her greatest and holiest theologians taught a doctrine in itself shocking—to the minds of Englishmen revolting—to English Protestants scandalising in the highest degree, when, as a matter of fact, that theologian teaches the very contradictory of this doctrine? If it were a mere private question between you and me it would not make much difference, but it is something far more important and cannot be allowed to pass.

In your letter to me of the 13th ult. you maintain that Suarez' teaching would cover the killing by assassination of Queen Elizabeth. In your letter of the 1st inst. you say that in his *Defensio Fidei* he guards against this inference. Which of these, one may ask, represents your settled opinions? What was, as a matter of fact, Suarez' teaching admits of no doubt.

For this reason I think I am entitled to ask your permission failing an express withdrawal in *The Fortnightly Review* of your statement, to publish this correspondence. When this is done I hope to deal with your statement about the Bollandists and St. Pius V.

I am truly yours in Christ,

✠ E. T., Bishop of Limerick.

To W. S. Lilly, Esq.

## VI.

THE ATHENÆUM, PALL MALL, July 9, 1904.

MY DEAR LORD,—I regret much that I have had no leisure to reply sooner to your courteous letter of the 4th inst.

I have no objection whatever to your publishing the correspondence between us, *including this letter*, in which I proceed to sum up, from my point of view:

I. Your lordship and I are agreed, I take it—there would seem to be no room for disagreement—that Suarez in the *De Bello*, indicates one kind of tyrant, viz., an unlawful usurper, whom a private individual may lawfully kill, when the conditions of a just warfare are present, when no other means can be found for being rid of him, and when the consequences of his death will not be worse than the tyranny itself.

II. And I feel sure that your lordship, with that wide and accurate knowledge of the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which you doubtless possess, will now agree with me that, as a matter of fact, a legitimate ruler deposed by the Pope was held by many to be in the like case with an unlawful usurper, on the ground that, when so deposed, he had ceased to be a legitimate ruler.

III. Your lordship is of opinion that this doctrine is an illegitimate extension of the teaching of Suarez in the *De Bello*. I dare say it is. Your acquaintance with him, I feel sure, is much more intimate than mine. I do not profess to have given my days and my nights to him; they have been otherwise occupied. Unquestionably in his *Defensio Fidei*, written, I believe—your lordship will correct me if I am wrong—sixteen years after the *Disputatio de Bello*, he applies himself to limit and safeguard the doctrine by laying it down that a deposed king may not be killed by any private person at once (*statim*), or unless this was specifically provided for in the sentence, or another sentence or command to that effect should be given (*donec et praecipiat vel generalis commissio haec in ipsa sententia vel jure declaretur*).

Assuredly I have no wish to misrepresent any one; most assuredly not Suarez, a divine to whom I owe much,



and for whom I have a great veneration. My wish is simply to speak the truth, so far as I know it. As I observed in a former letter, my concern with Suarez and his teaching was simply incidental. And I took care not to attribute to him the extension of his doctrine set out in my second point above, because I did not feel sure whether he is responsible for it. Your lordship, in the fulness of your knowledge of his writings, is of opinion that he is not responsible. I bow to this judgment, and shall think it my duty to say so in *The Fortnightly Review*.

But as I do not think I ought to trouble the Editor of that Review with two letters in rectification of one passage in an article, I should like to make at the same time any retraction of the justice of which your lordship may convince me regarding the Bollandists in their *de medio tollere*. I await, therefore, the exposition of that famous phrase, with which, as I understand, your lordship wishes to favor me.

I am, my dear lord, very truly yours.

W. S. LILLY.

To the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

## VII.

LIMERICK, July 12, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th inst., and to thank you for your permission to publish this correspondence. It is quite long enough already, at least on my side, but I should like to add a final word.

(1) Your first proposition is true enough, but it does not convey to an ordinary reader Suarez's real view. He was discussing the question of the lawfulness of rebellion,

and laid down that in the case of a tyrant, which you translate very fairly an usurper, that resistance to him is really not rebellion, but, as he is an aggressor and wages an unjust war against the State, is a just war in which the whole State and every member of it may lawfully engage. He puts this very succinctly in the treatise *De Bello* in the passage which you quote, but in Vol. 24, lib. vi., cap. 14, n. 13, he goes more fully into it, and explains that the action of a private citizen in the case contemplated is, in reality, taken not by private, but by public authority. It is so far important in its elucidation of Suarez's mind that I venture to quote the passage:

"Unde etiam in rigore, verum est id non fieri tunc auctoritate privata sed publica, vel potius regni volentis a quolibet civi defendi, vel Dei auctoris naturae dantis cui-cumque homini potestatem defendendi innocentem. Unde etiam in hoc non est discrimen inter utrumque tyrannum; neuter enim potest occidi auctoritate privata sed necessaria semper est potestas publica. Differentia vero est quod haec potestas censetur commissa cuilibet particulari personae contra proprium tyrannum non vero contra proprium dominum."

Your first proposition may be restated thus:

Suarez teaches that resistance by force to an usurper who seizes without any title on the government of a country is a just war, and not rebellion, in which the State and every member of it by the State authority may, if necessary, kill the usurper.

(2) As to your second proposition, I fear that even your flattering suggestions as to my acquaintance with the theological writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries do not bring to my recollection any theologian of any weight in the schools that holds it. I should say

that it is a misrepresentation of Catholic theological opinion at that period, of which I believe Suarez was typical. Some one or two very obscure writers have been quoted on your side, but really they do not count, and therefore your second proposition as it stands is misleading.

(3) As to your third proposition I have only to say that not only do I think that the view which you attribute to Suarez is an illegitimate extension of his teaching, but I know and I think that I have demonstrated that it is the very contradictory of his teaching. In your article you attempted to cover the doctrine of assassination by the authority of the great name of Suarez. I do not wish, through personal respect for yourself, to characterize according to my feelings such an imputation.

But it is necessary without any obscurity or equivocation of words to state and to prove that it is a total misapprehension of his teaching, and I should think from your remarks in support of your third proposition that you are now conscious of it.

Your original argument has then shaped itself thus :

Suarez teaches that in a just war an usurping tyrant may be killed by the State and by every member of the State, who then is invested with the State's public authority.

*Atqui:* It was held, but not by Suarez, who expressly and vehemently repudiated such a doctrine, that a sovereign of a Catholic State who had been excommunicated and deposed by the Pope was in the same position as an usurping tyrant.

Therefore, Suarez teaches that regicide—that is, the private assassination of an excommunicated and deposed sovereign—is allowable.

With this restatement of the case I do not think that I have anything else to add, except to thank you for the extreme kindness with which you have diverted your most valuable time from your important occupations to discuss the little points to which I have presumed to direct your attention.

I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours in Christ,

✠ E. T. O'DWYER, Bishop of Limerick.

To W. S. Lilly, Esq.

## Socialism

THE spectre of Socialism, which looms over modern civilization with a menace of ruin, may well cause serious alarm. How it was formed; how it grew to its present proportions; what dangers it entails, are questions of the most vital and immediate interest to all manner of men.

In general its rise may be ascribed to the elimination of Christianity from modern legislation; to the influence of false economic principles; and to the new methods which the nations have adopted to achieve greatness and power.

In political matters the disturbing element is undoubtedly the theory which dominates the civilized world to-day with regard to the origin of civil power, viz., that its source is the people; that the people have conferred it, and can revoke it at pleasure.

It is the doctrine of J. J. Rousseau, who described it as the Social Compact which was entered into by the aboriginal peoples and their rulers; a fiction which has been for more than a century regarded as an unquestioned and sacred fact, but which is without the slightest historical foundation. Needless to say, it is in direct contradiction with Catholic teaching, which proclaims, with St. Paul, that all authority is from God, and though it may, and often does, come through the people, it does not originate there, and in no case confers unlimited right to rebel.

The uninterrupted series of national upheavals, beginning with the French Revolution, which have dis-

turbed the world since the promulgation of Rousseau's theory, the startling and ever increasing number of assassinations of rulers; and the impunity with which anyone can plan the overthrow of existing institutions show how strong a hold this doctrine has taken on the public mind. Rousseau's Social Compact is the Socialist's Magna Charta.

The theory is sometimes expressed in the formula that "all government is based on the consent of the governed" which is equally untenable. Consent is certainly not required for a father to govern his children, nor for God to govern His creatures. Nor is it true of civil government. The police force, the prisons, the scaffolds, the electric chairs are so many denials of such a pretence. In one sense it may be true, viz., that when the people recognize that the will of the ruler is not the unwarranted, unauthorized and baseless claim of an individual who in one way or another has achieved power, but is the concrete expression of the will of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, Who decrees that all governments should proceed along the lines of right and justice, then they willingly consent to be governed; but such consent is the assurance of peace and not the foundation of any right to rule.

While this philosophical delusion was misleading the public policy of nations, an economic transformation was taking place in almost every civilized country. That change is commonly described as The Great Industrial Revolution, inaugurated about one hundred and fifty years ago, through the instrumentality of machinery, and the newly discovered forces in nature, which effected a sudden and stupendous expansion of manufacturing industries and a concomitant extension of trade, and brought about the displacement, the re-arrangement,

and in some instances, especially in the beginning, the degradation and the enslavement of whole sections of the working populations of the world.

It is an error, however, to imagine that there were no great industrial aggregations prior to the nineteenth century. Taking France as an instance, there were in the eighteenth century as many as 10,000 cloth-makers in the district of Givonnes alone; the ribbon industry of St. Etienne and St. Chamond employed 26,000 people in 1755; and in 1760 around Rouen 45,000 people were working for twelve employers. This fact will be properly appreciated when we learn that in a great industrial centre like Worcester, Mass., there are only 25,595 employed in the manufactories, and that those establishments run up beyond a thousand in number. The difference between then and now is that in former times the factory system was unknown, and there was not a distinct class described as the workingmen, nor were they distinguished by that other odious appellation, the proletariat. Many of the old operatives were government employees, engaged in the royal monopolies; in other establishments, the master was himself a workingman, on the same social level as his men; and the peasants also were engaged at these industries in their homes. But when the Government withdrew, individual competition began, vast capital was accumulated in the hands of a few, and the managers of these enterprises became controlling factors in the affairs of the nation.

More than that. The political importance which they acquired, both by their ever-growing riches and the vast numbers of people whom they influenced or controlled, profoundly modified that section of society which had been so far regarded as the dominant class, viz., the aristocracy. Wealthy plebeians were prompted almost as a

matter of business to purchase a place among the nobles; not a difficult thing, because the stigma which attached to trade had long been removed; even princes not disdaining to profit by commercial speculations. Impecunious noblemen also, whom the centralizing character of most governments had long debarred from the administration of public affairs, welcomed such accessions to their families. The consequence was that to the aristocracy of birth succeeded the aristocracy of wealth, with the same arrogance and aloofness, but without the same Christianity. Hence a deeper and broader line of demarcation and antagonism between the new lords, anxious to assert their superiority and the classes which they sprung from and which they endeavored to forget. In view of the coming battle this was a serious calamity, which grew more grave as Christianity lost its hold on both parties. Even where affiliation with the upper classes was not effected, the old division of gentle and simple disappeared, and between the favorites of progress and the victims of poverty a wide cleavage was made.

A French observer of English conditions finds that "the practical Englishman, the successful business man, who is proud to be a merchant and nothing else, has risen to great social and political prominence. He usurps the old traditions and privileges of the class above, and exploits in an unexampled manner the lives and energy of all beneath. For him the rationalist philosophers, the utilitarian moralists, the official economists of the mercantile school are in the place of a spiritual hierarchy; a kind of priestly class. Himself the issue of certain facts and certain changes, he has on his side whatever there is of intellectual authority in England."

In America, where nobility of birth is unknown, the



ideal man is admittedly the successful business speculator, the daring financier, the captain of industry. "Over our plains," says a recent writer, "the Genius of Industry ranges unchallenged, naked and unashamed," and President Cleveland lately felt called upon to say that: "No one can be so blind as not to see that in our growing and consuming madness in the pursuit of wealth, with its consequent indifference to political duty, there is a danger that our social and industrial equality will be destroyed, and our political independence made the sport of demagogues."

As long ago as 1879 no less a personage than the Czar of Russia said of us: "Your great industrial development has built up very large fortunes in few hands, and the conditions such fortunes produce must bring on a class conflict that cannot fail to make a test of the stability of your institutions. The men who have those fortunes know only the law of greed; they have no respect for the rights of others, and they will surely make an effort to use the strong arm of government to enslave the people. They will use the public franchises you grant with so liberal and so dangerous a hand to tax the people. They will organize into groups to increase their power, and their aggressions will as surely drive the body of your people to the enactment of laws which may be most hurtful to the general prosperity. I see a great conflict which must soon come in America between the few who have vast fortunes and the many reduced to a kind of industrial slavery." (*Independent*, March, 24, 1904.)

That commerce should preponderate in determining the policies of the nation was inevitable. As early as 1776 we hear Seguier remonstrating with Louis XVI., that: "Corporations are a chain whose first link is connected with the authority of the throne, and it would be

perilous to break it. The mere idea of doing so should fill us with terror; it would mean the reconstruction of the whole political edifice from top to bottom."

This is much truer now. Acquisition of power through commercial success is almost the exclusive aim of the great nations and the great men of our times, and industrialism of every kind has made itself the dominant spirit of the age. It affects the decisions of statesmen; it shapes the policies of governments; it dictates treaties of peace and declarations of war; it compels the establishment of standing armies and the building of monstrous fleets to protect and promote the interests of trade all over the world; it imposes enormous burdens of taxation, which fall heaviest on the poor; it multiplies, indeed, the wealth of nations, but it increases the opportunities for personal and political corruption; and it is now absolutely without control, for its cardinal tenet is that religious principles have no concern in the business enterprises and world-politics of to-day. No wonder that thinking men are filled with alarm.

Besides establishing this new and powerful class of moneyed magnates, the needs of commerce and industry naturally led to the centralization of manufactures in one place; the facilities for cheaper and quicker production and distribution rendering it imperative.

Two results followed. First, the destruction of the peasant class. Machinery, as well as the discoveries of the new science of chemistry, had the effect of making a large agricultural population superfluous; while at the same time the gigantic scale on which modern farming began to be conducted transformed the former peasant proprietors into employees. We are familiar with this; but the *Revue de Paris* tells us that this change is now taking place even in France, where the small landowner was

hitherto considered the principal strength of the nation. The second result was the aggregation of vast multitudes within the walls of factories and at the mouths of pits, in conditions which especially in the beginning were a disgrace to civilization. These displaced millions were valued mainly for their power to increase the wealth of their masters, and, as some one has said, were "a regimented and rightless proletariat as truly as were the ancient toilers of Egypt."

It is true that certain economists find the condition of this class to be much better than it was before trade had brought about these changes. Thus Rae, in his "Contemporary Socialism," informs us that in 1668 the average income of a working family in England was £12 12s. and is now £81; that 74 per cent. of the population were then breadwinners and earned 26 per cent. of the income of the whole country; whereas, in 1867, 80 per cent. were breadwinners and earned 40 per cent. of the income of the country. According to Mulhall, seventy-five years ago the workman toiled 90 to 100 hours a week, but now only 56½, while wages have increased 12 and in some cases 40 per cent. Carroll D. Wright says that wages rose from \$100 a year in 1850 for 70 hours a week to \$250 in 1880 for 60 hours, and he finds factory life much better for light, air and sanitation than in the old system of domestic manufacture.

Other students of the question, however, take different views, and call attention to the fact that while the laboring man receives absolutely more pay for his work, yet his poverty is much more acute by contrast. His clothes though cheaper are generally the result of sweating, which itself is oppression of the workingman; they are quickly destroyed by the atmosphere in which the laborer lives and the work he is engaged in. Devas calculates

that English workmen waste millions every year in this fashion. The food he eats, though cheaper, and more varied, is frequently adulterated and unwholesome; the dwellings he occupies sometimes consume twenty per cent. of his income, and are so indecently crowded as to be notoriously and shamefully prejudicial to health and morality; the air he breathes at his work is often poisonous; the smoke and soot that hang over the great industrial centres deprive him of the light of the sun, and defile everything with grime; the pollution of every running stream, which modern industry universally and stupidly converts into sewers, makes even water hard to procure; even if not crippled at his work, the workman is liable to be laid off when still young, forty being in some instances the time limit; when maimed or killed there is little or no provision for his helpless family, and such a contingency is not remote, for Mulhall puts the figure of those who are killed in Great Britain at 18,000 a year, while we in the United States run up to 30,000, the mines being mainly responsible; and in any event, the future has little hope for the discontented toiler who reads that in England and Wales, according to the official accounts, there are nearly 400,000 dependent paupers, not to speak of the multitudes that are living from hand to mouth.

Which of these conflicting testimonies is true matters little. The fact is that the workingman of to-day, whether better off or not, is ploughed with discontent, although factory legislation has remedied many of the original abuses and private philanthropy has been busy in ameliorating his condition. He recognizes that he is a new factor in the world. He knows that he is not the serf that he was one hundred and fifty years ago, when any kind of labor was a badge of slavery and when the police were ordered to exert special vigilance on the

working classes as being naturally prone to disorder. Even the revolution of '89, which he wrongly regards as the first step in his emancipation, used all the power of the State against him. Napoleon in his turn gave the laboring classes no consideration whatever. On the other side of the Channel, the condition of Sir Robert Peel's English operatives in 1802 in some respects surpassed the horrors of African slavery. Yet he himself was a master manufacturer, to whom the new system of labor had brought wealth and power and station. The attitude of the government toward the workers may be realized by the fact that Peel was unable to get an act passed in Parliament "for the preservation of the health and morality of apprentices and others employed in cotton factories." During the bourgeois régime in France from 1815 to 1849 they counted for naught, and it was only under Napoleon III., who boasted of being a Socialist, that they were allowed the right to assemble, to state their grievances, and ultimately to vote when universal suffrage was accorded.

Since then the laborer has been transformed mentally, morally, socially. He is now one of an organized body, a distinct class in society, and in close union not only with men of his own trade and country, but with those of every other country, and absolutely separated from and antagonistic to those who employ him. The use of machinery has not degraded him. On the contrary, it has made him more intelligent, and his increased technological and professional education is continually quickening his perceptions, which began to be trained in the primary schools and are kept on the alert by evening classes, lectures, reading, etc. He reads and he thinks, both badly at times, it is true, but he does both. Moreover, he has been taught from childhood that he is

every man's equal, and demagogues and a part of the press, especially his own, din into his ears that he is defrauded of his patrimony; that he has a right to his share in the wealth which he sees everywhere lavished in all sorts of criminal indulgence; that governments are corrupt, and are in the hands of the moneyed classes; that, because of the ballot, he is the controlling political factor in the world; that a mighty change is coming of which he will reap the first and greatest benefit, and that he has only to organize and wait for the signal to be given.

Unfortunately, while all this was going on, the religious spirit of the world deteriorated. The principle of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, which authorized everyone to be his own judge in the matter of religion, developed in the eighteenth century into the teachings of Rationalism and Materialism; the former doing away with the supernatural, while the latter denied that a man had a soul and a hereafter. Both doctrines descended naturally into the degrading Evolution of to-day, which is regarded as especially Socialistic and which teaches that the crimes of men and nations are only the phenomena of great foreordained cosmic changes, over which man has no control, and so does away with the moral law.

These doctrines, accepted as the gospel of what are called the educated classes of to-day, have by means of innumerable essays, romances, public conferences, and editorials filtered down into the minds of the modern workingmen. Finally, for the greater part of them, Christianity is not merely a dead issue, but is treated with scorn and contempt; every effort being made by their instructors to render it ridiculous and offensive. Churchmen are hypocrites and moneygetters; Christ is no better than Buddha or Confucius or Mahomet, and if God exists He is a tyrant and a monster.

Out of these conditions in the ethical, political, religious, domestic and commercial world Socialism arose.

It presents itself under various aspects, and with apparently different objects, but all tending remotely or immediately to one end, viz., the change or overthrow of all existing governments. They may be classified as follows:

1. Social Democracy or Collectivism, which demands the appropriation and administration by the State of all capital and instruments of labor. This is claimed by its adherents as the only genuine form of Socialism.

2. Positive Communism, which enlarges on Collectivism and aims at the transfer of all goods to one administration, permitting the use of some things, however, as private property.

3. Moderate Positive Communism, which, like Collectivism, advocates only the withdrawal of capital and instruments of labor from private hands, to be administered, however, not by the State, but by labor organizations.

4. Negative Communism, which calls for the abolition of all private property.

5. Scientific Anarchy, which does not desire violent measures, at least for the present. It is supposedly academic as yet and teaches that the management of Capital and Labor should be put, not in the hands of the State or of the Labor Unions, but in the control of Communes, which are to be independent of any central government, as were the ancient Greek republics.

6. Anarchy proper, which calls for the immediate use of fire and sword.

7. Agrarian Socialism, which demands the confiscation of land.

8. Socialism of the Chair, which advocates merely an increase of government paternalism.

The propagation of these various theories began with Saint Simon (1776-1825), who first projected the idea in the world that labor is the source of all value, but he urged nothing practical. The Scotchman, Adam Smith, in the preceding century, had set down labor as one of the sources of wealth, but not the only one. Fourier (1772-1837) first urged the organization of labor. Each proprietor was to contribute all his wealth to a common fund, so that every one might follow that particular occupation for which he felt an attraction; but the forcible abolition of private property was not suggested. Louis Blanc (1811-1882) found the evils of the day originated in private competition, and wanted the State to be the chief producer, so as to make private enterprise impossible. Karl Rodbertus, in Germany (1805-1875), pleaded for the abolition of real estate and capital, as private possessions. Next came Karl Marx, the greatest of all Socialist writers and leaders. In his work entitled *Capital*, he maintained that labor is the only source of exchange-value, and that the surplus above that, which now goes to the capitalist, should be contributed to a common fund. Marx is the founder of the International or the union of labor associations of all nations. Associated with him was Lasalle (1825-1864), whose Workingman's Programme, delivered at the Berlin Workingman's Club, is called The Wittenberg Thesis of Socialism, alluding, of course, to Luther's declaration at the time of the Reformation. He is famous for his theory of the Iron Law of Wages, which even Bishop Ketteler adopted, but which the Trades Unions, by pushing up the scale of wages as they wished, have shown to be false. Bebel and Liebknecht are the most prominent Socialists to-day, the former of whom was originally a bitter opponent of the movement. The Russians,



Bakounin and Krapotkin, are the chief apostles of anarchy; the former propagating it in Italy, in spite of Mazzini. There are others distinguished in the movement, like Karl Marlo, Engles, Babœuf, Ferri, Bernstein; but these will suffice.

What gives significance to it is that the doctrine is preached by representatives of every class of society. Saint Simon was a noble, Babœuf a plebeian, Bakounin and Krapotkin princes; and, what is very remarkable, according to Gualtieri, whose treatise on Socialism is the most scholarly and comprehensive work yet published, the chief apostles of Socialism in Italy are the middle class, or bourgeoisie, whose existence above all others is threatened. "Socialism," he says, "is not produced spontaneously in the lower strata of society, it is not the natural fruit of the sufferings of the lowly, and of the tyranny and oppression of the rich, but is propagated and fomented among the ignorant masses by members of the middle class, who have never felt these sufferings nor undergone this oppression. Various motives impel them to take part in this agitation. In some it is a real desire to mitigate the hardships of the poor, in others it is envy of those higher placed than themselves, and the desire to secure their own elevation by the overthrow of the existing order. The seed is nearly always laid in the schools by teachers who abuse their office to inculcate their political principles. Numbers of masters and professors, in primary and secondary schools, as well as in the universities, preach Socialism and hold the most subversive doctrines, which they proclaim openly from the chair or platform" (*Tablet*, March 5, 1904). On the other hand, in France the bourgeoisie, which now includes all property owners, are considered to be the chief enemy of the Socialists, though the bour-

geoisie proper were really the cause of the French Revolution. De Mun fancies that the strong religious feeling of this class gives hope for the future while Bodley considers that their opposition to the collectivist theories of the Socialist is a remnant of their old Individualistic doctrines of 1789. In Germany the greatest men in the movement, Marx and Lasalle, were Jews. Hegel, who formulated the pantheistic religion of Socialism, and is considered, so to say, its high-priest, was originally intended for the ministry. In Denmark women are its most ardent propagandists. In Holland the leader is an ex-Lutheran minister, and in Belgium a millionaire.

The movement has made the greatest progress in Germany, because property and comfort are badly distributed there, and because its doctrines have been scientifically studied. Even when Bismarck resorted to repressive measures, after the attempt to assassinate the old emperor, there were 155 Socialist newspapers in the Empire. The socialist vote fell off 30 per cent. but now they have 81 representatives in Parliament, and Bebel, the leader, is said to control 3,000,000 votes. However, it is not sure that the wonderful increase in the last election was altogether due to sympathy with the party. Bebel maintains that the army is honeycombed with Socialism, which, considering the harsh treatment meted out to the rank and file, is not to be wondered at. Over-education is responsible also to some extent. Thirty-one per cent. of the physicians of Berlin, it is said, earn only \$750 a year, and all the professions are overcrowded. It is evident that there is room there for discontent.

In France, for the last six years, the government has been controlled by the Socialists, and Jaurès, their leader, boasts that it cannot exist without them. Their representatives in the Ministry are men like Millerand

and Pelletan, and in the Chambres their cause is advocated by most eloquent speakers, like Villani and others. The great cities are the chief centres of the movement, the peasantry having no liking for a party which proclaims the destruction of peasant proprietorship; but that preservative element is now being eliminated.

It is not strong with the Magyars, who are generally in comfortable circumstances, though it is said to control 1,000,000 votes in Austria. On the other hand, the Poles, although poor, are not enthusiastic about the movement. If they declare for it, hatred of Germany and Russia prompts them. The Czechs of Bohemia are not ardent for it, but the Italians are. Bakounin, the Russian anarchist, introduced it there, but the anarchist feature has faded somewhat; and politics are resorted to for its advancement, as well as the infamous journals like the *Avanti* and the *Asino*, which are scattered broadcast to discredit religion and corrupt the people. The universal distress in the three classes of Italian society facilitates the work of propagating it; but Laveleyé very curiously says it can never make much headway there, because there is no metropolis which can be made a centre of agitation. "The malaria which makes Rome uninhabitable for the greater part of the year will long preserve her from the horrors of a Commune." It is physical against moral disease.

As far back as 1873 there were already 300,000 Socialists in Spain; but the party is rent with divisions. Singularly enough, the peasants are more socialistic and communistic than the workingmen, the reason being that they dislike a general government and cling to their old forms of communal administration. In fact, the workingmen were, at least some time ago, strongly against the movement.

In Portugal, Socialism does not prosper. Switzerland is swarming with foreign Socialists, but the Swiss themselves do not favor the movement, possibly because most of their Cantons have long adopted many of the Collectivist ideas in their methods of government. England is the hope and despair of the Continental Socialists. Everything is ready for a revolution, but the people will not rise, and Marx said that any proletariat movement in which England is not a factor is like a storm in a glass of water. Belgium, on account of its manufactures, seems well adapted to the work, but it has not thriven there. Lavellyé attributes the ill-success to free discussion. It is rather due to the sturdy Catholicity of the country. But the most remarkable of all is there is no Socialism in Ireland, although it seems a miracle for a country seething for centuries with economic and political discontent to escape such a visitation.

The most serious feature of Socialism is that it has or is a religion. Like all aggregations of men, it cannot get along without it. Witness Freemasonry, with its rites and symbols, its ceremonies, its dogmas, its altars, its priesthood. Socialism has its religious tenets, and is not merely a philanthropic movement or a political platform. If that is understood, many who support it now would abjure it absolutely. As a matter of fact, you can scarcely take up a Socialist book that attempts to treat the matter scientifically without finding some reference, directly or indirectly, to the teachings of the German pantheist Hegel, who formulated its dogmas and is considered its prophet and high priest. Like all false religions, it develops a fanaticism which it cannot control.

Hegel taught that religion, like all else, follows the law of evolution. It began with the beliefs of the

Orient; they gave way in turn to the religions of Greece and Rome, which subsequently succumbed to Christianity. It is time now for Christianity to be supplanted by the worship of Humanity, which is the true divinity. We are all parts of that divinity, and our individual relations to it constitute the code of ethics of the modern world.

Reducing this theory to a practical working programme, Marx, in his *Secret Societies in Switzerland*, writes: "We wage war against all prevailing ideas about religion. The idea of God is the keystone of a perverted civilization, and it is needful to sweep it from the face of the earth."

"God and humanity," says Prudhon, in his *Confessions d'un revolutionnaire*, "are two irreconcilable enemies, and the first duty of an enlightened man is to drive away mercilessly the idea of God from the mind and the conscience. Atheism ought to be the law of morals and of the intelligence; the atheism of Spinoza and of Hegel; atheism, in brief, which is idealism raised to its highest power." In the French Chambres, Villani, the most pronounced Socialist orator, proclaimed that the fight against the Congregations was not against clericalism, nor Catholicity, nor Christianity, but against all religion. And Buisson, one of the chief officials in the Ministry of Education, thus expresses himself: "In all the story about God and the world which Catholic dogma presents, there is not one single word which does not provoke, I will not say, indignation, for in order to be indignant one would have to believe, but a mute and melancholy denial. The only possible result of all rational education must be the evolution of the religion of the past into the irreligion of the future." Not to quote further, "the triumph of the Galilean," says Senator Delpech, "has lasted long enough. It is now His time to die."

From all this, several very disastrous consequences ensue. First, as regards the individual.

If it be true that man is part of the divinity, then he is absolutely his own master; he is a law unto himself (an error, let it be noted, that is admitted by multitudes outside the Socialist ranks); he is not only not to be condemned but commended for satisfying all his natural wants and desires; and on the same ground, if he is one of the disinherited of fortune, he admits, as an axiom, the Socialist doctrine that all property is theft. In brief, this pantheistic doctrine befogs the mind with a pernicious delusion, which is itself a calamity, perverts the will and makes the baser passions of men dominate, while it authorizes and applauds robbery and murder.

Secondly. It aims at the destruction of the family.

The fundamental doctrine of this new movement is that there can be no human or divine legislation with regard to the institution of marriage; that human passion is the only guide as to its duration; that promiscuity of intercourse is the ideal condition; that children belong to the State; that mothers should, according to Bebel, bring them forth in State institutions, and then be free to contract whatever other alliance may suit their fancy. For the furtherance of this end, Free Love Communities should be established where it is possible, and, where it is not, divorce laws should be enacted of such a nature as to bring about the same result.

Thirdly. It not only inculcates individual and domestic anarchy, but it professedly aims at the ruin of all existing governments. Thus Marx, in his *Secret Societies in Switzerland*, says: "We content ourselves at present with laying the foundations of revolutions, and shall have deserved well when we shall have excited hatred and contempt for all existing institutions. We wage

war against all prevailing ideas about religion, state, country, patriotism."

Liebknecht, his lieutenant, candidly explains the different methods to be adopted: "A general ought to change his tactics according to the movements of the enemy. Were we living in Russia we should adopt the tactics of the Nihilist. We should employ all the means which the modern State affords to turn people against it."

The Socialist party, which met in Cincinnati as far back as 1885, besides declaring for government ownership of railroads, canals, ferries, gas, telephone, telegraphs, etc., insisting on recalling of all land grants, the furnishing of meals, clothing, etc., to children, and the granting of divorce on mutual consent, calls for the abolition of the Senate and Vice-Presidency of the United States. All these demands are justified if the source of authority is the people, and if they have a right to revoke it at pleasure.

To expedite this work of destruction of existing governments, Marx founded his International Society, which unites the Socialists of every country in one body, irrespective of nationality, and thus secures their co-operation in all the vast network of schemes for the control of education, for enforcing laws of divorce, for the enslavement or extirpation of Christianity, the removal of national frontiers, the dissolution of the national armies, in a word, for a complete and universal social and political revolution.

In France, where Socialism is most successful, there is no concealment of the purpose to do away absolutely with love of country, beginning with destroying it in the hearts of the children. While we are reverencing our flag and floating it from every school house, school

teachers there can denounce the national banner as an old rag or an old petticoat; the *Review of Primary Instruction* can tell its readers that if the Government ever attempts to recover Alsace and Lorraine the people ought to establish the Commune to prevent that result; schoolbooks applaud or excuse the assassination of President Carnot, and when these acts are brought before the Chambres one of the Ministers of Education is found to defend the criminals and no word of condemnation is uttered even by the Prime Minister, Combes. Thus the work goes on. Mazzini, in Italy, was once considered a patriot; now he is a belated idealist; and the society which the National Socialists of Germany organized as a check on the International has completely collapsed.

Nor do they propose to leave the accomplishment of their work to a remote future. For although there is a Revolutionary and an Evolutionary Socialism, and although a professor of the Union Theological Seminary of New York assures the readers of the *North American Review* (June, 1904) that a resolution of the Evolutionary Section was recently carried which declared that "in the modern democratic State the conquest of the public powers by the proletariat cannot be the result of a *coup de main*, but the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies, yet apart from the fact that this applies only to democratic and not to other countries, and that "the resolution caused heated discussion ever since, and that the very author of the resolution himself believes in a final revolution," the recent Socialist Congress in Italy, held about the time that Loubet was hobnobbing with Victor Emmanuel, could scarcely control the partisans of immediate and violent action.



Finally, it is absolutely destructive of all human liberty. We need no better proof of that than to glance at what is going on in France, whose government the Socialists boast of controlling. What is the position of every Frenchman living there to-day? He has no liberty to write, he has no liberty to speak, he has no liberty to pray, he has no liberty to devote himself to good works, he has no liberty to enter a church or to allow anyone belonging to him to do so; he has no liberty to teach virtue to his children, or even to educate them in secular matters; he has no liberty to think differently from his rulers, and if he is suspected of doing so he has no liberty to own an inch of property or to draw breath in his native land; and if he goes elsewhere it is only to be a victim of the International, who interpellate their respective governments about the expulsion of those who were not allowed to live in their own country only because they are virtuous, and for being so are regarded as rebels and enemies. "Absolute subservience in body and soul in those who teach," according to Jaurès, the leading Socialist, "is the basis on which the present government of France is built."

Thus liberty, family, governments, country, all are menaced by this new power that has arisen in almost every country in the world.

What is to be the issue of all this? One of three things: Universal anarchy, the advent of some military leviathan, or the intervention of a third power to avert both calamities.

Even if anarchy were not proclaimed as the purpose of these movements, anyone may see that such must be the result.

Collectivism and all its subsidiary and derivative schemes make for that end. They begin by trampling

on property rights, which all men, even Socialists, will fight for. That is in fact what they are fighting for now. Secondly, the movement in all its phases increases the powers of governments by giving them control over every element of human life. That means the increase of human slavery. The old royal monopolies which could put men at whatever trade might suit the government taught that lesson, as did Italy in modern times when it turned its employees into soldiers to shoot down the strikers. Thirdly, Socialism multiplies opportunities for political corruption, which, as everyone knows, is far enough advanced at present. It is idle to plead the economy and more general comfort, which Collectivism would effect. Like "the two dogs," it is better to have a shaggy coat than a sleek one with a chain-mark on it. Moreover, Collectivist municipalities have not proved a success.

Nor will Communism in any form be possible. Religious men may unite in small bodies and give up their will and possessions, but not anti-religious mobs or multitudes. Nor will they agree with each other, whether they are subjected to a central authority, or ruled by Labor Unions, or are independent republics or without rule at all. The greater States have not done so; neither will they. Nor will arbitration avail. It has not succeeded now, while some vestiges of Christian ethics linger in International Law. Will it, when International Law is based on the power to seize what is wanted?

But apart from the futility or fallaciousness of all these theories, the fact that they propose to destroy all civil and domestic institutions must necessarily array against them every man who loves his home, his family, and his country, or in whom there remains any sense of duty to God. The ruin that is meditated and avowed dis-

penses with reasoning on the truth or falsehood of the doctrine.

Nor out of the resulting chaos can it be hoped that those who have shown ability only to destroy will be able to construct any of their ideal states of the future. Unless the history of mankind is going suddenly to reverse itself, the issue, in the event not merely of universal anarchy—people will not wait for that—but even of widespread disorder must inevitably be, that the remorseless tyranny of some military ruler will restore tranquility, if not peace, through oppression and bloodshed.

How can we avert such a calamity? The answer is, that there must be a prudent, sincere, unbiassed, upright and courageous intervention on the part of the State. For its own preservation it must repress all riot and disorder, and for the same reason compel the dissolution of those associations which are plotting anarchy, just as it must encourage those which make for the spiritual and temporal betterment of the working classes. It must legislate especially for the protection of the poor, who are more helpless than the rich; it must prohibit anything like starvation wages and protracted hours of labor; it must insist on compensation not merely for what is perhaps compulsorily and usuriously agreed to, but for what is necessary for proper support; it must compel the erection and maintenance of decent habitations; it must guard helpless women and children from labor that is excessive, or dangerous to health and morals; it must provide proper rest and recreation for the laborer; it must exact an equal distribution of taxes and not permit and, above all, not be in collusion with certain individuals or classes, or combinations to reap enormous and ever-growing profits without bearing a proportionate share in the public burdens.

These and other regulations for the guidance of governments are laid down at length in that most memorable and valuable document which the United States Commissioner of Statistics, Carroll D. Wright, proudly boasts of carrying about him as a *vade mecum*, viz., the Encyclical on the Condition of Labor, by the illustrious Pontiff, Leo XIII. It has already attracted the attention of the entire world.

But how are you going to influence the great money powers which, at the present time, often control the machinery of governments, using it most selfishly and most cruelly for their own advantage? And how are you going to put a check on the angry multitudes who are, or think they are, the victims of those powers? There is only one influence that is left, and that is religion, which, no matter how bad a man is, still lingers in his heart and exerts its power. But what kind of a religion, one naturally asks, as he looks around at the chaos that meets his gaze?

The only opponent of Socialism, according to the English anarchist, Hyndman, is the Catholic Church, and Vandevælde, the spokesman of Belgian Socialism, writes in the *Independent*, February 25, 1904, as follows:

"On the one hand are all those who hold that authority should descend from above, and who find in the Roman Catholic Church the most perfect expression of their ideal. On the other, those who insist that authority shall come from the people, and who by the logic of circumstances can find their hopes in nothing but Social Democracy. One may welcome or deplore the fact of this coming concentration about the Roman Catholic Church on the one side and the Social Democracy on the other, but no one can deny that this concentration is inevitable; and the future struggle will have to be fought

out between these two armies. To those, therefore, who are interested in the social movement of Europe we say: 'Observe above all else, if you wish to consider only the essential factors, the political activities of the Roman Catholic Church and those of International Socialism.'"

The mistake in these two declarations is that the Catholic Church is held to be an enemy. She is not. She will conquer, but conquer as a friend. Under these wild demands she detects many a glimmer of truth and many a just cause for complaint, while she also sees unfortunately bound up and mingled with them many outrageous and destructive errors which can only bring disaster on their adherents. To eliminate the evil and secure the good is her only purpose. She is not unprepared for the fight; she expects it. She may be beaten at first, but she will ultimately triumph. She has had the experience before.

To the doctrine of the divinity of human nature she replies: Human nature is divine, not, however, in being part of the God-head, but in the resemblance with God by the fulfilment of the moral law, which is a reflex on man's mind of the eternal laws of justice that are written in the mind of God. The higher assimilations to the Divinity by adoption and filiation only a Catholic can understand, but they are nobler and more sublime than any pantheistic Socialist ever dreamed of.

To the clamor for International Brotherhood she makes answer: "I alone can give it to you. My very name Catholic implies that, but it will be an Internationalism which will not destroy the nations, but fortify them, not obliterate patriotism, but make it more acute and self-sacrificing; not degrade human nature, but lift it up and glorify it. The Black International, as you call me, will not do as the Red International, which typifies

and preaches blood and carnage. The Black International is appareled indeed in the garments of sorrow, but it is sorrow for the sins of mankind; it is symbolical of its own sufferings and afflictions which must be undergone, but through which alone happiness and peace are to be won for mankind.

The destruction of the marriage tie she will never permit. She will fight for its indissolubility though the world should seem to go to pieces about her, knowing by the divine light that is in her as well as by her two thousand years of worldly trial that upon the stability of the family and the dignity of woman depends the safety of the nations.

She will not countenance the right of revolution, if only for the reason that she has too often seen that these popular upheavals are planned mostly for the political ambition of individuals, and that the people are invariably the sufferers.

She makes light of the accusation that she has been always the ally of kings and princes. She has been when they reigned with justice; but most of her sorrows has come to her for withstanding them when they wrought iniquity. She alone dares to reprove, and threaten and condemn the rich and powerful.

She pays no heed to the calumny that she favors the rich. Her distinctive trait, as well as her glory, is that she is the Church of the poor. She has covered the world with her institutions of benevolence, and she has never ceased her care for the orphan, the sick, the abandoned, the fallen, the ignorant, the outcast and the criminal wherever they could be found, in the hospitals, in the orphanages, in the slums, in the prisons, and even on the scaffold, and her claim was never so much in evidence as to-day when the Socialist government of France

drives out from their country 160,000 admittedly blameless men and women whose only purpose in life was to devote themselves to the suffering members of humanity. The Church would have won too much esteem and power had such love been allowed to be lavished on the people. That the poor were to suffer in consequence was not considered for an instant. With her, poverty is no disgrace; it is an honor, and the rich and poor meet on the same level at her altars.

Finally, she alone is the apostle of liberty. From the time that Paul pleaded for the fugitive slave she has been striking off the shackles of the serf, and she alone to-day can save the workingman from a worse servitude than the one from which he is striving to emancipate himself. She alone preaches a true equality for all men, and the humblest can occupy and have occupied the most splendid posts in her hierarchy. Nor could it be otherwise, for she was established by the Son of God, who sounded the depths of human suffering and poverty, who was born in a stable and had not a grave of His own to be buried in.

On what lines does the Church propose to proceed?  
On the old lines:

1. By teaching, by inculcating, and almost by compelling, through the instrumentality of her pulpits, her schools and her confessionals, reverence for God, obedience to divine and human law, and love for humanity. The world around us is just now beginning to understand the power of these three bulwarks against destructive and revolutionary Socialism.

2. By consecrating, in all the glow and ardor of their youth, her countless armies of heroic sons and daughters who go down gladly into the depths of human misery, where they touch with their hand and feel with their

heart all the physical and moral woes from which mankind is suffering, and by their voluntary poverty, their self-immolating benevolence, and also by the dazzling beauty of their lives hold in check the angry and rebellious multitudes that are in danger of being led away.

3. By inspiring Catholic governments to initiate, not under pressure, but of their own volition, economic reforms which recognize and forestall the reasonable demands of the people, and to do so not for motives of expediency or fear, but for reasons of right and justice. Such was the case when Europe was Catholic, when there were but few labor troubles, although the gigantic Workingmen's Guilds, better organized than are the Labor Unions of to-day, extended their influence everywhere in protecting and uplifting the workman, but at the same time rendering anarchy impossible because of the religious idea in which those organizations were conceived and by which they were strengthened and perpetuated. The attempt to resuscitate them by the present Protestant Emperor of Germany is a tribute to the wisdom of the Past; the failure to do so is an admission of the weakness of the religious spirit in the workingman of to-day.

Unfortunately we have but one example at the present time of a government acting under such inspiration, but it is sufficient as an illustration, viz., Catholic Belgium, whose great manufacturing interests and condensed population seemed to afford a most promising field for a Socialist propaganda, but in which Socialism has not been able to secure a foothold because of the Christian solicitude of the government in providing for the needs of the people and in supporting the undertakings of private philanthropy. Socialism, in spite of its gigantic efforts, has found itself anticipated there, while the safe-



guard of religion among the people prevents the excesses into which great economic changes without such a restraint inevitably falls, and the country has been for over twenty years in the enjoyment of a prosperity unparalleled in its history.

A better example of this influence is found in the effect which Catholicity has had not merely on a country but on an entire race. Centuries of misrule would naturally have hurled the entire Irish people into the hands of the Socialists, but the Irish reverence for parental, civil, and ecclesiastical authority ingrained in them by the Catholic training and tradition of long centuries has, to the amazement of the revolutionists, kept them as a body solid as a wall of brass on the side of order. There is no more faithful father of a family and no more self-sacrificing patriot in his native or his adopted country than an Irishman. There are some, unfortunately, on the wrong side, but an Irish anarchist or out-and-out Socialist is a recreant to his race and religion.

When it cannot mould an entire nation or race it avails itself of the popular elements at its disposal and fashions them into solid and enduring defences of their country. Thus, because and only because of this influence, have we the splendid spectacle of the German Catholics of to-day, whom Bismarck thirty years ago tried his best to exterminate, forgetting all that now and standing as the admitted defenders of that Protestant Empire against the inroads of Socialism. Take away the conservative force of Catholicity from the body of the people at large, and from their representatives in the Reichstag, and build up the 3,000,000 Socialist vote by the other millions that would be added, were not Catholicity there to prevent it, and the great Empire would probably totter to its

foundations. This condition of things in a country where Socialism had so much to hope for is sufficient to explain the bitter hatred entertained for Catholicity.

This bitterness is not reciprocated, though opposition to the economic and religious delusions of their opponents is none the less profound and unyielding. Catholics have been content to quietly build up their strength, and year after year for half a century, even in the midst of galling persecution, they have come before the world to reiterate in assemblies ever increasing in number and importance their adherence to the principles of right and justice, until in our own day, under the walls of the Cathedral of Cologne, one of the most splendid monuments that the workingmen of the world have ever constructed, the Catholic Congress, grown now to 12,000 delegates, representing every social element from the parliamentarian and the professor, to the peasant and the mechanic, some of whom voiced the will of organizations like the Volksverein of 300,000 or 400,000 members, came to report the vast work that had been accomplished in establishing workingmen and women's clubs, industrial schools, rural banks, industrial and agricultural federations, courses in sociology and political economy, and countless other beneficent organizations besides. It was the utterance of an overwhelming spirit of religion and patriotism making that magnificent and solemn declaration of fealty to God, religion and country, which gave the assurance not only to the rulers of Germany but to the world at large, that where a people is influenced by genuine Christianity the country is safe from the enemies without and the still more dangerous foes who lurk within. Catholics of other countries would do well to follow their example.

On the same lines are the Catholics of France and Italy

making their uphill fight. To those who have been able to study them closely the number of enterprises which they have inaugurated and carried to a successful issue for the betterment of the working classes is simply amazing, especially as it is done in spite of governments which do everything possible to thwart these efforts.

What are we to do? The same thing. Socialism with us is not yet a formidable political power, but there is all the more reason, before it becomes an aggressive and organized force, to build up an army of federated associations actuated by principles which are antagonistic to or corrective of those dangerous doctrines we have been considering; a great conservative body of men, who can always be relied on as the champions of law and order, who, far from being a source of apprehension for their fellow-countrymen will be recognized as staunch defenders of justice and right; men who believe in the rights of property, the sanctity of marriage, the love of country, the right of liberty and the rational pursuit of happiness, and who base all these claims not on convenience or expediency, but because the light of reason and the light of religion reveal them as springing from the eternal laws which reason and revelation keep constantly before our eyes. Men who are penetrated with such principles will be the pillars of their country in time of peace and its staunchest defenders in time of war. The solution of the problem rests largely if not exclusively with us.

T. J. CAMPBELL, S. J.



## **The Documentary Exposé of the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations Between the Holy See and the French Government**

ON many occasions, especially in the past few months, certain members of the French Cabinet made it clear that they proposed to arrive by progressive stages at a rupture of relations with the Holy See. The leave of absence or recall of the Ambassador was a decisive step in that direction. Then, lately taking as a pretext certain letters which in fulfilment of the duties inherent to his apostolic ministry, the Holy Father had addressed to the Bishops of Laval and Dijon, the French Government, in spite of satisfactory explanations, and the benevolent dispositions of the Holy See, considered that the moment had come to sever diplomatic relations. On which side right abides, in the course of the events which led to this result, will be made manifest by a sincere and documentary exposé of the facts. In such a delicate matter, the Holy See would have much preferred to observe the most absolute secrecy, had there not been need of stating the truth. The responsibility of such an exposé and of the publication of documents pertaining to it, must be laid at the door of those who have made both of these proceedings unavoidable.

Almost from the beginning of his episcopate, Mgr. Geay was the object, before the Holy See, of grave accusations, of an exclusively religious kind, and altogether foreign to the political and religious questions agitating

France. An investigation had been inaugurated, and the accusations appeared such as to compel the Holy Father to counsel the said bishop, by the intermediary of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office (Doc. I) to resign his diocese; it being understood that he found it impossible to govern with the authority and efficacy that were needed. Thus Mgr. Geay would have avoided for himself and would have spared the Holy See the unpleasantness of a trial, and of the scandals which would probably ensue. On the other hand, he could have preserved his good name by giving some plausible reason for his resignation.

The bishop at first accepted this advice (Doc. II); but immediately after, he put, as the condition of his withdrawal, a transfer to another diocese, even if it were the last in France, as he expressed it. As the charges against Mgr. Geay did not arise from local or external difficulties, but were private and personal, the acceptance of such a condition was regarded as impossible.

Because of the patience which characterizes the Church, and also because of the hope that the future would cause the past to be forgotten, the Holy See temporized for more than four years. But the longanimity and the hope were in vain. On the contrary, the accusations assumed such a character that any further delay became impossible. The arrival of Mgr. Geay in Rome in 1900, and the brief stay he made there, which did not permit the Holy See to proceed to a formal trial, did not diminish the gravity of these accusations. Hence the same Congregation of the Holy Office, by order of the Holy Father, wrote again, and in the same sense on May 17th of the present year (Doc. III), repeating the counsel already given, and adding that if within a month Mgr. Geay had not given up his diocese, the Sacred Con-

gregation would find itself in the necessity of pushing matters further, in accordance with the prescriptions of Canon Law.

The bishop permitted himself to communicate this letter, which was of its nature most secret, to the French Government, which by its Note of June 3d (Doc. IV) demanded the withdrawal of the letter, supposing that the Sacred Congregation wished to depose the bishop, in case his resignation was not offered within the space of a month.

By a despatch addressed to the Papal Nuncio, June 10th (Doc. V), which was read to and a copy left with M. Delcassé, the Holy See made all haste to furnish ample explanations, declaring that the expressions, *progređi ad ulteriora*, which appeared in the letter of May 17th, which had been quoted, as well as in a previous letter of January 26, 1900, in no wise meant, in the terminology employed by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, the deposition of the accused from his charge, or the infliction of any other disciplinary penalty, but only the submission to a regular process in the form designated by canon law. In the letter in question, therefore, the Sacred Congregation merely said to the bishop, in other terms, that if within a month he did not conform to the counsel given him of spontaneously handing in his resignation, he would be summoned to Rome. There all the accusations made against him would be communicated to him and he would be invited to exculpate himself, and the Holy Father would be most happy to proclaim his innocence; but in the supposition of a deposition or a spontaneous resignation, the provisos of the Concordat would be scrupulously observed by the Holy See.

These explanations seemed to satisfy M. Delcassé.

Nevertheless, he did not answer them, and consequently the Holy See reasonably concluded that they had been accepted. Moreover, the Papal Nuncio had, on different occasions, apprised the French Government, both under this Cabinet and its predecessor, of the deplorable condition of the diocese of Laval, and insisted upon the necessity of applying a remedy. The last time was when he discussed it with M. Dumay, the Minister of Worship.

Nevertheless, on June 24th, Mgr. Geay addressed a letter to the Holy Father (Doc. VI) in which, without alluding to the letter of May 17th and the communication of it to the Government, he announced his arrival on the following October; for he said he had not yet collected all the Peter's Pence of his diocese and he desired to bring it personally, and had to be accompanied by a Canon of his cathedral, Mgr. Chartier, an old man, seventy-five years of age. The reply to this letter is found in Doc. VII. The Bishop replied by Doc. VIII, and finally the Cardinal Secretary of State, by a letter of July 10th (Doc. IX), communicated to him the order of the Holy Father and of the Sacred Congregation to present himself in Rome by the 20th of the same month, adding the sanction which is usual to apply in cases of this kind, and which it is imperative to obey because of the gravity of the obligation imposed, the penalty being suspension *ipso facto*, and without further declaration *ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*; a sanction which is enforced only in case of contumacy, and which ceases at the very moment of submission. By this order Mgr. the Bishop of Laval, conformably to the explanations given to the French Government was called to Rome solely to explain his conduct, and to justify himself if it were possible, in the grave charges brought against him.

So far with regard to the Bishop of Laval.



The case of Mgr. Le Nordez, the Bishop of Dijon, is similar.

Against him also the Holy See received grave accusations of an exclusively ecclesiastical character, in consequence of which his diocese was in turmoil. Every one recalls the case of the young seminarians who in February last refused to receive holy orders from the hands of their bishop, preferring rather to be expelled from the seminary; in which action almost all their colleagues followed. The adjournment of the ordinations was imperative. The Cardinal Secretary of State, by a despatch of March 10th (Doc. XII), requested the Papal Nuncio to advise Mgr. the Bishop of Dijon of the wish of the Holy Father to prorogue the ordinations until further order. The Nuncio wrote in the same sense to Mgr. Le Nordez on the date of March 11th (Doc. XIII).

This letter of Mgr. Lorenzelli was communicated to the French Government which, by a Note of July 15th, declared the letter null and as not received; for, it said, in its substance it was against the Concordat; and in its form, the Papal Nuncio had no right to correspond directly with the French bishops. But it is hardly necessary to show that a simple measure of prudence can not be contrary to the Concordat. The circumstances demanded it; it involved no penalty, and Mgr. Le Nordez regarded it as perfectly just and opportune. That the Papal Nuncio could not communicate directly with the French bishops the Holy See had never admitted, and as a matter of fact such a pretension had never been observed.

The painful incident of the ordinations sufficiently revealed the abnormal condition of the diocese of Dijon. On that account the Cardinal Secretary of State by order of the Holy Father in his letter of April 24th (Doc. XIV)

invited Mgr. Le Nordez to come to Rome, as soon as possible (*asking him to give notice of his coming as soon as he had fixed the date of his departure*); not to be deposed, or to receive any other disciplinary penalty, but solely, as in the case of Mgr. the Bishop of Laval, to exculpate himself, and to refute the accusations brought against him, which would have been put before him in their entirety. Mgr. Le Nordez replied, promising to put himself at the disposition of the Holy Father, towards the middle of the month of June (Doc. XV).

The entire month of June passed without his appearing, and the Cardinal Secretary of State under the direction of the Holy Father, in a letter of July 9th (Doc. XVI), gave him an order to appear within fifteen days under pain of suspension—*latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*. For the Bishop of Dijon, as for the Bishop of Laval, the sanction appended to the order, was applicable only in case of contumacy, and was not incurred, or ceased immediately, by the fact of submission.

Mgr. Le Nordez communicated this order to the Government, and was prevented from obeying as he affirms by the Government itself, and he replied by a letter of July 19th (Doc. XVIII), addressed to the Cardinal Secretary of State, who answered it July 22d (Doc. XIX). Hence it appears how baseless is the reproach made against the Cardinal Secretary of State with having written a new letter to Mgr. the Bishop of Dijon while the Notes of July 23d were still in suspense.

By these threatening Notes (Docs. X and XX) the French Government repeated that it regarded as null and as not received the letter of March 11th, sent by Mgr. Lorenzelli to the Bishop of Dijon, and it insisted upon the withdrawal of the letters which the Cardinal Secretary of State had written on July 9th to Mgr. the Bishop of

Dijon and on July 2d and 10th to Mgr. the Bishop of Laval, deeming that they infringed the rights of the Power with which the Holy See had made the Concordat and that they were opposed to the Concordat itself.

But in the first place, making a distinction between the Concordat and what are called *The Organic Articles* which are a unilateral act of the French Government, and against which the Holy See has always protested, it is easy to demonstrate the inexactness of this appreciation on the part of the French Government. In fact it is impossible to find any opposition whatever between the letters objected to and any article of the Concordat (Doc. XXII). To prove that the Holy See as well as the Concordat has implicitly sanctioned the *Organic Articles*, the words of the First Article of the Concordat are cited: "The worship will be public, conforming itself with what police regulations the Government shall judge necessary for public tranquillity." Such regulations would be precisely the *Organic Articles*. But the obvious sense of the words, and the history of the Concordat show most clearly that the words refer solely to the police measures that are necessary to ensure public order in the exercise of public worship.

Moreover, the Holy See, as has been said, had reason to believe that the Government had accepted the explanations given in the letter of June 10th, and that it had, as a consequence, admitted the summons to Rome of Mgr. Geay to justify himself. As regards the suspension with which he was threatened, that could not create any difficulty, as it was not to be inflicted except in case of contumacy and only as long as the contumacy lasted. Similar sanctions are, besides, habitually added not only to orders to appear at Rome in person, but also to general laws, certainly well known by the French Government

which has never so far made any observations with regard to them.

Finally, it is difficult to understand how the French Government can logically contest the right of the Holy See, without a previous and formal agreement, to advise a bishop to spontaneously relinquish his diocese, or to forbid him to perform an act of his ministry, as a measure of prudence called for by the circumstances of the case, or to be called to Rome to clear himself of grave imputations, when the Government itself without any understanding with the Holy See claims the right to suppress the salary due the bishops in virtue of the explicit arrangement of Article 14 of the Concordat.

On the other hand, the withdrawal of letters deemed objectionable would have signified that the authority of the Pope over the French episcopate was subject to the good pleasure of the Government; an arrangement which would be equivalent to the complete abdication of the authority which the Pope has by right over the bishops of France. The Holy Father was thus rendered absolutely incapable of yielding to the Government's demand without failing to fulfil the mission which the Divine Redeemer has confided to him over the universal Church.

This is what the Holy See caused to be known in the conciliatory and kindly replies (Docs. XI and XXI), which were made to the French Notes of July 23d. More than that; the Pope, for the purpose of conciliation would not show himself averse to prolong, by a month, the delay accorded to the bishops, provided that, in the interval, the bishops betook themselves to Rome to justify themselves and that in case of refusal or their failure to vindicate themselves, the Government was disposed to come to an understanding with the Holy See, in order to provide for the administration of the dioceses.

All was useless (Docs. XXIII and XXIV).

History will record that the French Government has broken its age-long diplomatic relations with the Holy See because the Holy See, which is alone competent in the matter, after having informed the Government, appealed to the two bishops to come to vindicate themselves from the grave accusations which weighed upon them.

#### DOCUMENT I.

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF THE  
HOLY OFFICE TO MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL:

*Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,*

For a long time back, and again recently, Our Most Holy Father has received reports, proven, alas! by testimony altogether incontestable, which show that Your Lordship can no longer exercise the episcopal ministry with the authority and efficacy that are required. Our Holy Father, meditating with bitterness of heart before God on this condition of things, in order to come to the aid of your salvation, and to that of the flock confided to you, has ordered that Your Lordship ~~be~~ be invited by me in his name and by his authority to resign as quickly as possible, of your own accord and spontaneously, the care and direction of your diocese. In that case all this matter will be religiously kept under the secret of the Holy Office, in order to protect the honor of your name and office. I ardently desire that you adopt this course, in order that it may not be necessary, which God avert! to urge the matter further.

In executing, not without a lively sorrow, this order of the Supreme Authority, and counting on a prompt response from Your Lordship, I salute you in the Lord.

L. M., Card. Parocchi.

Rome, January 26, 1900.

## DOCUMENT II.

MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL TO HIS HOLINESS, LEO XIII.

*Most Holy Father,*

I have the honor to place in the hands of Your Holiness my resignation of the See of Laval.

Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I beg of you to accept the expression of my respectful and filial gratitude.

✠ PIERRE JOSEPH, Bp. of Laval.

Bourges, February 2, 1900.

## DOCUMENT III.

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF THE HOLY OFFICE TO MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL:

*Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,*

Once before Your Lordship has received from this Supreme Congregation, a letter by which, in the name of the Holy See, you were invited to spontaneously relinquish the charge and the direction of the diocese which had been confided to you. As the very grave reasons of this decision still persist in their entirety, by order of their Eminences, the Cardinals, who are, with me, the Inquisitors General, I see myself forced to formally renew this invitation. I beg of you most earnestly not to force the Sacred Congregation to proceed further in this affair; which would come to pass, if, which God forbid! you have not obeyed within a month from the date of this letter.

S. CARDINAL VANUTELLI.

Rome, May 17, 1904.

## DOCUMENT IV.

THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE TO HIS EMINENCE  
THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

## (NOTE.)

By a letter of the date of March 17, 1904, and signed by Cardinal Vanutelli, the Bishop of Laval has been invited to resign his function, within one month, under pain of serious measures being taken.

The Government of the Republic is obliged to protest against such a proceeding effected without its consent.

The Bishop of Laval has been regularly nominated and constituted in accordance with the conditions foreseen by Article 5 of the Concordat of July 15, 1801, which runs thus: "The nominations to bishoprics vacated in the future will be likewise made by the First Consul, and the canonical institution will be given by the Holy See."

As it is for the nominations so ought it to be for removals or forced resignations. The powers of a bishop can not be conferred or withdrawn without a decision of the Government of the Republic.

Hence, in exercising without the knowledge of the Government, and by the intermediary of an authority which the Government does not recognize, an act of undisguised pressure on the Bishop of Laval, in order to induce him to resign, the Holy See assails the right of the State recognized by Article 5 of the Concordat. Hence, order has been given to the undersigned to advise His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, that if the letter of May 17th is not annulled, the Government will be compelled to take measures which befit such a dero-

gation of the pact entered into between France and the Holy See.

The Chargé d'Affaires of France takes this occasion to assure His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State of his distinguished consideration.

BARON DE COURCEL.

Rome, June 3, 1904.

#### DOCUMENT V.

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE  
TO MGR. THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIO IN FRANCE.

Monsieur de Courcel has sent me, by order of his Government, a Note of which you will find a copy herewith enclosed. As there is question of an affair which concerns the conduct of a bishop, the Holy Father desires that as small a number of persons as possible should have cognizance of it. For that reason, instead of replying directly to M. de Courcel, I hasten to furnish Your Eminence with the proper explanations on the subject in question, and I commission you to communicate them to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To well understand the sense and bearing of the letter addressed, on March 17th last, by Cardinal Serafino Vanutelli, as Secretary of the Congregation of the Holy Office, to Mgr. Geay Bishop of Laval, it is necessary not to lose sight of the following considerations:

No one ignores that it is the very grave duty of the Roman Pontiff—a duty intimately associated with his primacy of jurisdiction over the Catholic Church—to watch with unwearying solicitude over the progress of each and every diocese of the Catholic world, to promote their progress in good, and to prevent, in case of need, all spiritual deterioration. It is known, moreover, that



in the accomplishment of this great duty, the Sovereign Pontiff is aided by the Roman Congregation. In the first rank of these Congregations is the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, on which devolves the most important and vital charge in the Church, that of watching over the integrity of the faith, and the purity of morals, especially of the clergy, and in the most particular manner of the bishops. It is for this reason, that the said Congregation has the honor to have as its Prefect the Sovereign Pontiff himself, and as Secretary, a Cardinal.

Since the year 1899, by express order of the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII., the Congregation of the Holy Office was obliged to make a serious examination of the accusations formulated against Mgr. Geay, and of the consequences which resulted in the religious and moral progress of his diocese. When this examination was made, it was seen immediately, that only two courses presented themselves; either that of regular procedure, in pursuance of the tenor of the sacred canons, without neglecting, when the moment came, the prescriptions of the Concordat, or that of an appeal to the conscience and personal interest of the bishop by inviting him to freely and spontaneously resign. All considered, for the purpose of avoiding scandals and rumors, and at the same time, as far as possible, to safeguard the honor of the bishop—to spare him and the Holy See the pain of a canonical process, in such a delicate matter—the second course was adopted. It was clear that Mgr. Geay could explain his retirement by plausible and honorable reasons.

To the invitations sent to him in this sense, on January 26, 1900, in the name of His Holiness Leo XIII, Mgr. Geay hastened to reply by the following letter, dated from the Archbishopric of Bourges, February 2, 1900:

“Most Holy Father—I have the honor to place in the

hands of Your Holiness my resignation of the See of Laval. Prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, I beg you to accept the expression of my respectful and filial gratitude."

The moment then seemed to have arrived for the Holy See to treat of this matter with the French Government, conformably to the Concordat; but unfortunately, this letter was followed by several others all which went to declare that the renunciation had been given only conditionally, and that it was subordinated to a transfer to another diocese of France, no matter how humble or modest, as he said.

It was impossible to satisfy the desire of Mgr. Geay, in view of the fact that the counsel to resign was in no way provoked by local or external difficulties, but because of private and personal reasons, which tended to compromise the dignity and honor of the bishop.

It was then decided to repeat the advice; but the longanimity and indulgence which characterized the Holy See delayed the resumption of the matter; as it was hoped that Mgr. Geay would end by recognizing himself, how false and painful was his occupation of the See of Laval.

When this hope was deceived, the Sovereign Pontiff Pius X., urged solely by the duty inherent in his supreme apostolate, and reflecting on the account he would have to render to God, ordered the Sacred Congregation to take up the sad affair anew. Hence the new letter of May 17th last.

The tenor of this letter is in every respect similar to the letter sent January 26, 1900. There is added only that "if in the space of a month the bishop did not follow the advice to resign, the Sacred Congregation would be obliged to proceed *ad ulteriora*." In the terminology of the Sacred Congregation, the expression *progredi ad ul-*

*teriora* does not signify, as the French Government seems to think, that if in the delay of a month the bishop did not resign, that proceedings would be purely and simply adopted for his deposition, that is to say to deprive him of his diocese or to adopt other penal measures, but it signified only that if the resignation advised was not carried into effect, the Sacred Congregation would find itself in the obligation of having recourse to the proceeding mentioned above; namely, to call Mgr. Geay to Rome, in order that he might have an exact and precise knowledge of the accusations formulated against him in the moral and ecclesiastical order, and to furnish in the premises, all the explanations which he should deem necessary and opportune to completely enlighten the conscience of his judges. If in this trial which is certainly most distressing for himself and the Holy See, Mgr. Geay succeeds in fully justifying himself he will return to his diocese without any reproach; if on the contrary the truth of the accusations formulated against him are established whole or in part, the situation would become more grave and more painful.

I cherish the hope that this exact exposition of the views and facts of the case will be of a nature to modify the severe appreciations of M. Delcassé with regard to the letter of May 17th. To find in the procedure adopted in the case of the Bishop of Laval any violation of the agreement of the Concordat, it would be necessary to maintain that the French bishops, by the very fact of the Concordat, have become mere functionaries of the State, and absolutely free from the bonds which, by divine institution, unite the Catholic episcopate to the Supreme Head of the Church. Thus the Roman Pontiff, notwithstanding the most grave reasons in the moral and religious order, could not without the previous consent of the Govern-

ment either counsel a bishop to resign freely and spontaneously, for his own personal good or that of his diocese, nor summon him to Rome in order to exculpate himself from the accusations of which he is the object. Everyone sees how contrary such a contention is to the truth. It would be equivalent to saying that the French bishops by virtue of the Concordat no longer belong to the Catholic Church.

I regret to have been constrained to enter into details which affect the good name of a bishop. I have done it only after having been specially dispensed by the Holy Father from the very rigid secrecy of the Holy Office.

The responsibility must be laid at the door of Mgr. Geay who permitted himself to communicate a letter which was of its nature most secret. At the same time, I am sure that M. Delcassé, animated as he is by feelings of justice, will recognize in these explanations a new guarantee of the earnest desire of the Holy Father to arrive at an amicable adjustment of all the difficulties which exist between the French Government and the Holy See. You are authorized to read the despatch to M. Delcassé and when doing so to leave him a copy.

Accept etc.,

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, June 10, 1904.

#### DOCUMENT VI.

MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL TO THE HOLY FATHER.

LAVAL, June 24, 1904.

*Most Holy Father,*

Permit me, one of your sons, to come to you on the occasion of the Feast of St. Peter, to express my senti-

ments of profound veneration, of absolute devotedness and at the same time my religious good wishes for your health and happiness.

As I had the honor, some months ago to write to Your Holiness, I cherish the fond hope of going soon to prostrate myself at your feet to bring and express to you my filial homage by word of mouth.

This year 1904 is to bring me to the Confession of St. Peter to pray, and to the Head of the Church to give an account of my episcopal administration.

If I listened only to the impatience of my heart, I would anticipate by several months the date I have fixed, and have mentioned to Your Holiness. But I cannot gather the collection of Peter's Pence until towards the middle of October and I desire to carry it myself.

Moreover, as I am to be accompanied by a member of my chapter, Mgr. Chartier, an old man of seventy-five, he has implored me to wait till the end of the great heats before attempting that distant journey.

Meantime I beg Your Holiness to believe that no bishop is better disposed to follow your instructions than the humble Bishop of Laval, who has already suffered for having so scrupulously obeyed the instructions of Leo XIII. of illustrious memory. God has rewarded me for it in giving me the love of all the people and the persecution of those in power.

But thanks be to God, peace reigns, and the name of Jesus Christ is more and more glorified.

May Your Holiness deign to accept the most filially submissive and most respectfully devoted homage of one of the most humble bishops of France.

✠ PIERRE JOSEPH, Bishop of Laval.

## DOCUMENT VII.

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE  
TO MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL.

*Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,*

The Holy Father having received the letter of your Most Illustrious and Reverend Lordship addressed to him on the 24th of June last, has given order to communicate it to the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, of which he is the Prefect, and the Most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals Inquisitors General have in the Congregation of June 30th issued this decree, which was approved by His Holiness in the Audience that followed: *Respondendum per Eminentissimum Cardinalem a Secretis Status juxta mentem, id est:*

“The Holy Father was grievously surprised on learning by the letter of Mgr. Geay that he has not yet obeyed the injunctions of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office, and has thus given reason to believe that he has no regard for them whatever. However, as those arrangements remain in all their vigor, Mgr. Geay will be invited to present himself in Rome within the fifteen days which follow the date of this letter to appear in person before the Tribunal of the said Congregation with regard to divers accusations formulated against him, under pain of suspension *latæ sententiæ ordinis et jurisdictionis*, to be incurred *ipso facto* at the expiration of the delay fixed.”

In executing the mandate which the Holy Father has confided to me by means of the Sacred Congregation which is the organ of his decrees, in the most important matters, I take the occasion, etc.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, July 2, 1904.

## DOCUMENT VIII.

MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL TO HIS EMINENCE THE  
CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

LAVAL, July 6, 1904.

*Most Eminent Lord,*

As every French bishop ought to do I have yesterday the 5th inst., communicated to my Government and have placed in proper hands the letter which Your Eminence did me the honor to write, in reply to the one which my filial love laid at the feet of our Holy Father.

I have at the same time asked the authorization of the Minister of Worship to go immediately to Rome in conformity with the order of the Holy See.

I regret to inform you that the aforesaid authorization was absolutely refused, under Article 20 of the Law Germinal, and under penalty of prosecution.

If Your Eminence has any objection to offer on this subject, you will kindly make it to the French Government. I will follow whatever has been determined between it and the Holy See.

I hope to send you the greater part of the Peter's Pence which I had intended to have the joy of carrying myself.

Deign to accept my humble homage and regrets.

✠ PIERRE JOSEPH, Bishop of Laval.

## DOCUMENT IX.

HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE  
TO MGR. THE BISHOP OF LAVAL.

*Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord,*

As a sequel to the letter sent by Your Lordship on

the 6th inst., and in execution of the orders of the Holy Father and of the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Inquisition, I fulfil the sad duty of recalling the attention of Your Lordship to the Constitution *Apostolicæ Sedis*, and to advise you that you have to arrange your conscience in conformity with the contents of the aforesaid document. Moreover, by a mandate of His Holiness and of the Supreme Congregation just mentioned, I hasten to call your attention again to the decree of the Sacred Congregation of June 30th last, concerning yourself, to enjoin upon you to present yourself in Rome by the 20th of the current month, and to signify to you that if you pass that period without obeying, you incur without further notice suspension *latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*. After fulfilling this painful mission, I beg of you, etc.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, July 10, 1904.



**The Documentary Exposé  
of the Rupture of Diplo-  
matic Relations Between  
the Holy See and the  
French Government ❧ ❧**



## **The Documentary Exposé of the Rupture of Diplomatic Relations Between the Holy See and the French Government**

### **DOCUMENT X.**

THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE TO THE CARDINAL  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

(NOTE.)

In reply to the Note sent on June 3d last to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State protesting in the name of the Government of the Republic against the injunction addressed by the Holy See to the Bishop of Laval to resign his functions within a month, His Excellency the Apostolic Nuncio gave M. Delcassé the following explanations, which he confirmed a few days later by communicating to him the text of the memorandum of June 10th, which he had received on the subject from Mgr. Merry del Val.

The advice given to the Bishop of Laval did not, said Mgr. Lorenzelli, signify that if this Prelate did not resign within the space of a month, they would proceed to depose him without any other formality; it merely meant that if the resignation advised to him was not made, the Congregation of the Holy Office would be under the obligation of summoning Mgr. Geay to Rome in order to clear himself of the imputations brought against him.

The Cardinal Secretary of State denied any intention of engaging, "without at the same time observing the Concordat," in a procedure which could result in a bishop's suspension or deposition. And His Eminence added that he was confident that they would see "in the explanations given a fresh pledge of the earnest desire of the Holy See to have an amicable settlement of all existing difficulties between the French Government and the Holy See."

Contrary to these assurances His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote direct on July 2d to the Bishop of Laval, threatening him with *suspension* if he did not, within fifteen days, present himself in Rome before the Tribunal of the Holy Office. And as the Bishop of Laval did not acquiesce, he received a fresh letter dated from His Holiness's Secretariate of State on the tenth of this month and signed by Mgr. Merry del Val, informing him that if he did not present himself in Rome on the 20th of July at latest, he would by the very fact and without need of any further declaration incur suspension *latae sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*.

After the announcement contained in the Note above quoted of the 3d of June last, and seeing that the complaints against the Bishop of Laval go back for several years, it is impossible to be deceived as to the character of these hasty and repeated summonses.

In ordering directly to Rome without the knowledge of the Government a bishop who, in his quality of administrator of a diocese, depends on the Minister of Worship, the Holy See has ignored the rights of the Power with which it signed the Concordat.

By threatening this Bishop if he did not come to Rome with the penalty of suspension, and by informing him that if he did not present himself in Rome by July 20th at

latest he would *ipso facto* and without need of further announcement incur suspension *latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*, the Holy See ignored the provision of the Concordat from which it follows that a bishop cannot be suspended or deposed without the agreement of the two Powers which concurred in his appointment. Such an attitude dictates the conduct of the Government of the Republic.

This is why the undersigned has been instructed to declare to His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State that if the letters of July 2d and 10th to the Bishop of Laval are not withdrawn, and if there is any following up of the threats therein contained, the French Government will have to understand that the Holy See no longer regards its relations with the Power which, fulfilling the obligations of the Concordat, is bound to defend the prerogatives which the Concordat confers upon it.

And the Government of the Republic leaves to the Holy See the full responsibility of the resolutions to which it shall be compelled.

The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of France takes the opportunity of presenting his most respectful compliments to the Cardinal Secretary of State.

ROBERT DE COURCEL.

Rome, July 23, 1904.

#### DOCUMENT XI.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CHARGÉ  
D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE.

(NOTE.)

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State has not failed to give all his attention to the Note dated the 23d of the current month of July, in which the Chargé

d'Affaires of France, after an allusion to the explanations contained in the dispatch addressed to the Nuncio at Paris on June 10th last, and to the counsel sent on July 2d and 10th to the Bishop of Laval, points out that the Holy See, in summoning, unknown to the Government, a Bishop to Rome, "ignored the rights of the Power with which it signed the Concordat," and by threatening the Bishop with the penalty of suspension if he did not betake himself to Rome, "ignored the provision of the Concordat, from which it follows that a bishop cannot be suspended or deposed without an understanding between the two Powers which concurred in his appointment."

After these statements the Chargé d'Affaires declares in the name of his Government that if the two letters above-mentioned addressed to Mgr. Geay be not withdrawn, and if the threats contained in those letters be followed up, "the French Government will have to understand that the Holy See no longer regards its relations with the Power which, while fulfilling the obligations of the Concordat is bound to defend the prerogatives which the Concordat confers upon it."

To give an adequate answer to these observations, it will be best to give a brief exposition of the exact state of the question.

From reasons exclusively ecclesiastical in nature and quite outside the political questions which are in agitation in France, the Supreme Pontiff, in the fulfilment of the duty of his Apostolic ministry over the whole Church, deemed it opportune to counsel the Bishop of Laval spontaneously to resign his diocese, because in this way he would spare himself and the Holy See the painful necessity of taking further measures.

Mgr. Geay not having followed this prudent and pa-

ternal counsel, which was several times repeated, the Holy See informed him that it found itself under the legal necessity of summoning him to Rome to give the explanations called for by the grave imputations charged against him. There was, therefore, so far, no question of his deposition, in which case the Holy See would have informed the Government of it, nor of other penal measures, but simply of a summons to Rome to clear himself. On his arrival in Rome, he would have been informed of the charges preferred against him, and he would have had full and entire liberty to examine them and defend himself; and if he had succeeded in rebutting them the Holy Father would have been only too happy to proclaim their baselessness.

All this the Holy See formally declared in the dispatch addressed to the Pontifical Nuncio in Paris on June 10th last, which M. Delcassé read, and was allowed to copy in reply to the Note of the 3d of the same month, given to the undersigned Cardinal by the *Chargé d'Affaires* of France. The explanations then given appeared to be satisfactory to the Minister, and as he sent no reply the Holy See reasonably believed they had been accepted. For the rest, the Nuncio had on several occasions discussed with the present and preceding Cabinets the sad situation of the diocese of Laval, and showed the necessity of taking measures in regard to it.

Under these circumstances and always with the aforesaid view of his justification, orders were sent to Mgr. Geay to present himself in Rome, pointing out the canonical sanctions entailed by the gravity of the obligation of obedience, sanctions which could only be applied in case of contumacy and which lapsed by the mere fact of submission. In the dispatch aforesaid of June 10th to the Nuncio the undersigned Cardinal certainly said that,

in the event of a regular process, account of the provisions of the Concordat at the proper time would not be neglected, a remark which of course referred to the hypothesis of a deposition or of a spontaneous resignation; but he did not say that the Holy See would abstain from summoning the Bishop of Laval to Rome, thus obliging him in conscience to obey even under penalty of canonical sanctions.

It is to the foregoing that the letters of July 2d and 10th addressed to the Bishop of Laval refer, letters the withdrawal of which was demanded by the French Government on the ground that they constituted so many violations of the Concordat; but it is easy to demonstrate the inexactness of this view, for, in the first place, the Concordat is quite distinct from the *Organic Articles*, which are of a later date and constitute a unilateral act of the French Government against which the Holy See has never ceased to protest; and in none of the 17 Articles of the Concordat is it read, nor is it according to the spirit of the letter, that the Holy See cannot, without the previous consent of the Government, counsel a bishop to resign his see for his own good and for that of his diocese, or summon him to Rome to give an explanation of his conduct. This point the Roman Pontiff could not concede without failing in his sacred duties as Supreme Pastor of the Church; for while no one denies that the Bishops in France must maintain the necessary relations with the Government defined by the Concordat, they still in their jurisdiction depend upon the Roman Pontiff who conferred it upon them by his canonical institution, and who holds and safeguards it for them; and the Roman Pontiff cannot subordinate this dependence to the consent of the civil authorities. The fact that the Roman Pontiff, even after the Concordat, has preserved his full



and entire authority over the Bishops of France is clear also from the solemn and special oath (an oath which the French Government cannot ignore, seeing that it forms part of the canonical institution which is joined to the Bulls) by which the Bishops bind themselves unreservedly to receive in all submission and to execute most faithfully the injunctions of the Roman Pontiff: *Mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exsequar*. And especially, that the Roman Pontiff, even after the Concordat, can call to Rome, and under penalties incurred *ipso facto*, the Bishops of France to render an account of their work, is confirmed by the well-known law, certainly known to the French Government, which obliges the Bishops of France like those of other European countries, under penalties, *latæ sententiæ*, to come to Rome once every four years, or at least to send a representative, for the special purpose of laying before the Roman Pontiff the state of their dioceses and of receiving from him instructions, advice, and commands.

After these reflections it may be hoped that the French Government will be persuaded that there has been no violation of the Concordat on the part of the Holy See, and that, inspired by a spirit of fairness, it will not insist on the withdrawal of the letter in question—thus sparing its own country serious religious disturbances. Such withdrawal would, in fact, be equivalent to the complete abdication of the Pontifical authority over the episcopate—an abdication which it is not in the power of the Holy Father to make, and which cannot be contemplated by the Government of the Republic. But the Holy Father, in order to give a fresh proof of his conciliatory disposition and to show that throughout all these painful incidents he has been inspired always and solely by a sense of duty, would not be unwilling to prolong by a month the term assigned to the Bishop of Laval in order that he may during this space of time come to Rome to

justify himself, and that in case of his refusal to come, or of his inability to clear himself, the Government may show itself disposed to come to an understanding with the Holy See to make provision for the administration of the diocese. From this act of deference it is easy to see the importance which the Holy See attaches to the maintenance of good relations with the Government of the Republic, founded on the exact observance of the dispositions of the Concordat. The Holy Father from the very special affection which, like his illustrious predecessor, he cherishes for the noble French nation, would be grieved if the Government of the Republic, solely to prevent a bishop from justifying himself before the competent authority, allowed itself to proceed to unwarranted measures of hostility, for which, however, the Holy See could be burdened with no responsibility either before God or man.

The undersigned Secretary of State, in begging the Chargé d'Affaires of France to inform his Government of all this, takes the opportunity of renewing the expression of his high esteem.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, July 26, 1904.

## THE CASE OF THE BISHOP OF DIJON.

## DOCUMENT XII.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE NUNCIO-  
APOSTOLIC AT PARIS.

(TELEGRAM.)

ROME, March 10, 1904, Time 20, 30.

I beg Your Excellency to inform the Bishop of Dijon immediately that it is the wish of the Holy Father that he should suspend ordinations till further orders. Your Excellency will transmit to us the Bishop's reply.

CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

## DOCUMENT XIII.

THE NUNCIO-APOSTOLIC AT PARIS TO THE BISHOP OF  
DIJON.

PARIS, March 11, 1904.

*Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord:*

By order of our Most Holy Father, I hasten to inform Your Lordship that His Holiness desires that until further orders from him you, my Lord, will suspend sacred ordinations.

Ever ready either to transmit to Rome anything Your Lordship may wish or to serve you in any other way that I can, with fraternal affection and respect,

I am, Your Lordship's most humble servant,

\*BENEDETTO LORENZELLI, Arch. Sard.,  
Nuncio-Apostolic in France,

## DOCUMENT XIV.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BISHOP OF DIJON.

*Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord:*

The Holy Father has charged me to invite Your Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lordship to be good enough to present yourself at Rome as soon as possible. In carrying out the revered order of the Holy Father, I beg you, as soon as you have determined upon the day of your departure, kindly to let me know when you will arrive.

Meanwhile I seize this opportunity, etc.,

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, April 24, 1904.

## DOCUMENT XV.

THE BISHOP OF DIJON TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

DIJON, May 3, 1904.

*Your Eminence:*

I have the honor of expressing to Your Eminence the deep regret I experience in delaying to reply to the letter which I received from you.

It was really my desire to join to my letter a Report which Your Eminence might place under the eyes of the Holy Father, and I have had to devote the last two days to it.

On Saturday I begin my pastoral round of Confirmation; all the parishes are prepared for it, all the children ready, and the event was announced a month ago.

My absence and my leaving for Rome would have caused a great deal of trouble, and the effect would have

been most regrettable, especially now when calm is restored to all minds. My journey will come to an end towards the middle of June, and I shall then be at the disposal of the Holy Father.

In the midst of all the trouble which has been brought upon me, my thoughts often go out to His Holiness; I ardently desire to prostrate myself at his feet and also, I do not conceal it, to make myself known to him. For there have been attempts to prejudice him against me and to paint me to him in a light which is not that of the truth.

I venture to beg Your Eminence, to lay before His Holiness the Note which I join with this letter. A month ago I wrote to the Nuncio-Apostolic at Paris that I wished to enlighten His Holiness by a precise and sincere report; I longed to make it.

I beg Your Eminence to accept the homage of my profound respect.

✱ ALBERT, Bishop of Dijon.

#### DOCUMENT XVI.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BISHOP OF DIJON.

*Most Illustrious and Right Reverend Lord:*

By order of the Holy Father I hasten to inform Your Most Illustrious and Right Rev. Lordship that His Holiness has been sadly surprised to find that Your Lordship, after promising to come to Rome before the end of June last, has not kept your word. His Holiness now commands you to present yourself in Rome within fifteen days of this letter, under pain of suspension *latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*, to come into

force *ipso facto* immediately on the expiration of the term appointed.

This command of the Sovereign Pontiff fulfilled, I, etc.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, July 9, 1904.

#### DOCUMENT XVII.

THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE TO THE CARDINAL  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

#### (NOTE.)

From information which has come to the President of the Council, Minister of the Interior and of Worship, it appears that His Excellency the Nuncio-Apostolic at Paris transmitted, on the 11th of last March, to the Bishop of Dijon an order from the Holy Father to suspend ordination in his diocese till further notice.

The Government of the Republic is obliged to protest against such a measure taken without its consent; as to fact, because a measure tending to diminish the prerogatives of a bishop, and to inflict upon him a sort of partial deposition, is in opposition to the pact of the Concordat; and in form, because the Nuncio of the Pope has not the right to correspond directly with the French bishops.

For this reason the undersigned has been commanded to inform His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Government, keeping to the spirit and letter of the Concordat, must regard as null and void the letter of March 11th.

The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires avails himself of this opportunity to assure His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, of his sincere respect.

Rome, July 15, 1904.

ROBERT DE COURCEL.

## DOCUMENT XVIII.

THE BISHOP OF DIJON TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY  
OF STATE.

PARIS, July 19, 1904.

*Your Eminence:*

I received in the extreme North of France, where I was taking a little rest, the letter which Your Eminence addressed to me. It arrived on July 12th at noon.

On the eve of the same, M. Bizouard, curé of St. Benigne of Dijon, the chief author of the troubles of which my diocese has been the theatre for seven months, declared to the priests of his deanery assembled in conference that "he had just received from the Pope a letter informing him of the measures taken against me," and from Your Eminence "another letter stating that the clerics of my diocese need not trouble themselves about the ordination which would be given in September in my Cathedral by a bishop from outside."

I did not hesitate a moment to regard as untrue the sources alleged by M. Bizouard. But I was astonished to find that the decisions of the Holy See concerning me were known to this ecclesiastic before they were known to me.

There has certainly been some illegitimate revelation by some subaltern; and I attribute to this same source the articles published in the French press during the last week, and I have been anxious to inform Your Eminence of them.

I, for my part, had kept the letter I received from you a secret.

But having been summoned by the French Government to communicate it to them, I did not consider I had the right to refuse. I made that communication this morning

as I was passing through Paris on my way home. I had the honor to write to Your Eminence a little more than two months ago. I am most desirous to go to the Holy Father to assure him of my profound respect and of my attachment to the Holy See, which attachment cannot be weakened by anything or any persons. I long to be known to the Pope, because I am sure that half-an-hour would be enough for me to acquire his esteem and confidence, and to dissipate the prejudice which hatred, lying, and calumny have inspired in His Holiness against me.

But after seven days' reflection before God, I hold it my duty to declare to Your Eminence that I feel I cannot present myself in Rome under the conditions in which I am summoned there.

I feel the deepest grief at this. I see the evil which threatens the Church of France, and the deplorable complications which this incident adds to a state of religious affairs already so seriously compromised. But I cannot.

For seven months I have, on the part of a few priests of my diocese, been the object of outrageous accusations which are as odious as they are coarse. They have hounded against me the young pupils of my seminary, young laymen, and pious and credulous women. They recently had recourse to lies, threats, and bribes, to induce poor children to refuse to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at my hands.

They based their action on the charge, as hateful as it is insane, that I formed part of a sect of which I never knew a member, and whose name I should blush to write.

I held my tongue. I have borne all with calm, awaiting the day of truth.

They have repeated a thousand times that I had for these reasons been denounced to the Holy See, and during



the last twelve months they have been saying every day that I was about to be recalled.

The Holy See has never informed me by a single word that I was accused of this.

Five months ago, through the Apostolic-Nuncio, I declared that I was at the entire disposal of the Holy Father to furnish all explanations and justifications. None have been asked of me.

Two months ago, through Your Eminence, I had the honor to address to His Holiness a report, of which the clearness and sincerity left nothing to be desired. I concluded it by declaring myself ready to add all the particulars that His Holiness might wish. None have been asked of me.

To-day I receive the order to set out for Rome under penalty of being suspended from my jurisdiction. That is the only communication which has been made to me, and the only support given me in this struggle, which I am carrying on valiantly and patiently in the defence of justice and of the character which God and the Holy See have bestowed on me. And all that is disclosed to the Press and flung as food to popular passions.

What sort of culprit am I then supposed to be? What sort of Bishop am I imagined to be? Does my life of solitude, labor, and devotion in the cause of the Church and my diocese deserve that sentence?

I am bold enough to declare there is not in France a single bishop more closely attached to the Holy See than I: whoever attacks it shall find me in the way. But must I therefore fling my person and my sacred character to the Gemoniæ?

No, that may not be; lying cannot be overcome in that way. Pius X is as just and good as he is firm. He will not so treat a bishop like me.

I shall, therefore, Your Eminence, await the definitive notification of censure with which I am threatened. The Holy Father may rest assured that I shall not hesitate an hour to set my clergy the example of respect for authority which I have so often preached.

I beg Your Eminence to accept the expression of my sentiments of profound respect.

\*ALBERT, Bishop of Dijon.

#### DOCUMENT XIX.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE BISHOP OF DIJON.

ROME, July 22, 1904.

*My Lord:*

I have just received the letter which Your Lordship addressed to me on the 19th of this month. I immediately laid it before the Holy Father. I can assure you in the most formal fashion that His Holiness has not written a word to the Abbé Bizouard, and that I myself have made no communication to him concerning the ordinations at Dijon. If M. Bizouard has allowed himself to make the statements reported to Your Lordship, he will necessarily have to answer for them in the proper quarter.

But, my Lord, quite independently of all that may have been told to you, I am charged by the Holy Father once again to draw your attention to the extreme gravity of your present position. After having been invited by the Holy Father to come to Rome in the first fortnight of the month of June, you promised His Holiness to present yourself here in the second half, and you said that this delay was imposed on you by the necessity of making a Confirmation journey already announced. You did not come, but instead you went away to Paris and

the north of France. The Holy Father waited till July 9th, and then he gave you a formal order under penalty of suspension to be in Rome within fifteen days. Your Lordship—it is your own statement—communicated this letter to the Government without heeding the regulations of the Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis*. You tell me, my Lord, that half-an-hour would be sufficient for you to explain your position to the Pope, to gain his esteem and confidence, and to dissipate the prejudices with which hatred, lying, and calumny may have filled His Holiness against you. It was to give you this half-hour and more that the Pope called you to him; yet, instead of obeying and fulfilling your promise, you set out for Paris. The Holy Father has pronounced no judgment on the facts alleged, and it is precisely because he was unwilling to decide without hearing you and giving you an opportunity to gain his confidence and to dissipate every accusation, that he called you to Rome. You preferred to remain in France and to communicate to the civil authority an order which had been addressed to you by the Holy Office in the name of the Holy Father himself. I am charged by His Holiness to invite you to-day to do your duty and settle with your conscience, now especially that the time which has been allowed you is on the point of expiring.

Your Lordship declares that “there is not in France a bishop more closely attached to the Holy See than yourself,” and that “whoever attacks it shall find you in the way.” The Holy Father has no wish to doubt your sentiments, and he could only doubt them if you fail now in your duty. The notification which has been made to you is definitive. I would add, my Lord, on my own part, that I write to you with a troubled heart, and that I should have preferred to have spared you this letter could

I have done so without failing to the orders I have received. I implore you to act as a Bishop, a French Bishop sincerely attached to the Apostolic See, and not to add to the grief now pressing on the heart of the Pope, and which all those who love the Church and France feel so deeply.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

DOCUMENT XX.

THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE TO THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE.

(NOTE.)

His Excellency the Nuncio-Apostolic at Paris having, on March 11th last, transmitted to the Bishop of Dijon a command from the Holy Father to hold no ordination in his diocese till further notice, the undersigned informed His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State by a Note of the 15th of this month that the Government of the Republic, holding to the spirit and letter of the Concordat, protested against such a measure taken without its knowledge or consent, and was compelled to regard as null and void Mgr. Lorenzelli's letter of March 11th.

In spite of this protest, His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, by a letter which he addressed direct to him in the name of the Holy Father on July 9th, repeated the injunction to betake himself to Rome within a term of fifteen days from that letter under pain of suspension *latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis*, which would be incurred *ipso facto* on the expiration of the period stated.

By calling to Rome directly and unknown to the Gov-

ernment a bishop who in his quality of administrator of a diocese depends on the Minister of Worship, the Holy Father ignored the rights of the Power with which the Concordat was signed.

By commanding this bishop to present himself in Rome within fifteen days under pain of suspension *latæ sententiæ ab exercitio ordinis et jurisdictionis* which would be incurred *ipso facto* on the expiration of the term aforesaid, the Holy See ignored the provision of the Concordat which provides that no bishop may be suspended or deposed without the agreement of the two Powers which cooperated in his elevation.

Such an attitude dictates the conduct to be followed by the Government of the Republic.

Accordingly the undersigned is commanded to inform His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State that if the letter of July 9th to the Bishop of Dijon is not withdrawn, and if any action is taken to fulfil the threats therein expressed, the French Government will have to conclude that the Holy See no longer has any interest in its relations with the Power which, whilst fulfilling its obligations under the Concordat, is in duty bound to defend the prerogatives which the Concordat confers upon it.

And the Government of the Republic leaves to the Holy See the full responsibility of the course to which it may be obliged.

The undersigned Chargé d'Affaires of France takes this occasion to assure His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State, of his high esteem.

ROBERT DE COURCEL.

Rome, July 23, 1904.

## DOCUMENT XXI.

THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE CHARGÉ  
D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE.

## (NOTE.)

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State has given due attention to the note dated the 23d of the current month, in which the Chargé d'Affaires of France, after an allusion to the order sent to the Bishop of Dijon on July 9th to come to Rome, affirms that the Holy See, by directly summoning a Bishop without the knowledge of the Government, "ignores the rights of the Power with which it has signed the Concordat," and by threatening the bishop with the penalty of suspension "ignores the provision of the Concordat, which provides that a bishop may not be suspended or deposed without the agreement of the two Powers which cooperated in his elevation." After making these declarations the Chargé d'Affaires, in the name of his Government, declares that if the above-mentioned letter of July 9th be not withdrawn, and if the threats contained in it be put into effect, "the French Government will take it that the Holy See has ceased to have an interest in its relations with the Power which, while it fulfils the obligations of the Concordat, is bound to defend the prerogatives which the Concordat confers upon it."

The undersigned Cardinal does not stop to emphasize in the first place that in addressing to Mgr. Le Nordez the above mentioned letter of July 9th, it was obviously impossible for him to take account of the protest handed to him by the Chargé d'Affaires on the 15th of the same

month. With this observation the undersigned Cardinal passes to reply to the substance of the last note.

Everybody remembers the painful incidents which took place last February in the diocese of Dijon, when the young seminarists refused to receive sacred ordination from the hands of Mgr. Le Nordez, preferring rather to be expelled from the seminary, and were followed by nearly all their fellow-students, who sided with them. A delay of sacred ordination became a necessity under the circumstances, either to permit an inquiry into the causes of the opposition of the young men, or to give them time for reflection and to regain their peace of mind; hence the Nuncio in a letter of March 11th informed the Bishop of Dijon that it was the Holy Father's will that he should abstain from conferring orders until further notice. This was a simple measure of prudence required by the circumstances, and did not imply any penalty; and Mgr. Le Nordez himself in a letter addressed to the undersigned Cardinal recognized it as just and opportune.

Meanwhile the charges against the Bishop of Dijon were becoming so grave as to render some explanation on his part necessary. The Holy See, therefore, invited him to come to Rome, and as he, notwithstanding his promise to present himself here in the second half of last June, continued to delay obedience, the order to come was repeated in a letter dated July 9th, and he was reminded of the canonical sanctions required by the gravity of the obligation of obedience—sanctions which were to be applied only in the case of contumacy, and which were to lapse with the very act of obedience. There was, therefore, no question of deposition—had there been, the Holy See would have informed the Government—or of any other penal dispositions, but a simple summons to Rome of the Bishop to give explanations about the

charges which were being formulated against him. On his arrival in Rome he would have been informed of the imputations brought against him, with the most ample powers to examine them and defend himself; and had he succeeded in rebutting them, the Holy Father would have been overjoyed to proclaim their baselessness.

The French Government considered as null and void Mgr. Lorenzelli's letter of March 11th, and demanded the withdrawal of that of the Holy See of July 9th to the Bishop of Dijon, deeming both of them contrary to the Concordat; but it is easy to show the inexactness of this view. For in the first place the Concordat is quite distinct from the later *Organic Articles*, which are a unilateral act of the French Government against which the Holy See has never ceased to protest; and in none of the 17 articles of the Concordat is it read, either according to the spirit or in the letter, that the Holy See cannot without the previous consent of the Government counsel a bishop, as a measure of prudence required by circumstances, to abstain temporarily from any act of his ministry, or call him to Rome to furnish explanations of his conduct. This point the Roman Pontiff could not concede without failing in his sacred duties as Supreme Pastor of the Church; for while no one denies that the Bishops in France must maintain the necessary relations with the Government defined by the Concordat, they still in jurisdiction depend upon the Roman Pontiff who conferred it upon them by his canonical institution of them, and who holds and safeguards it for them; and the Roman Pontiff cannot subordinate this dependence to the consent of the civil authorities. The fact that the Roman Pontiff, even after the Concordat, has preserved his full and entire authority over the Bishops of France is clear also from the solemn and special oath (an oath which the French Government cannot ignore, seeing that it



forms part of the canonical institution which is joined to the Bulls) by which the Bishops bind themselves unreservedly to receive in all submission and to execute most faithfully the injunctions of the Roman Pontiff: *Mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam, et quam diligentissime exsequar*. And especially, that the Roman Pontiff, even after the Concordat, can call to Rome, and under penalties incurred *ipso facto*, the Bishops of France to render an account of their work, is confirmed by the well-known law, certainly known to the French Government, which obliges the Bishops of France, like those of other European countries, under penalties *latæ sententiæ*, to come to Rome once every four years, or at least to send a representative, for the special purpose of laying before the Roman Pontiff the state of their dioceses and of receiving from him instructions, advice, and commands.

After these reflections it may be hoped that the French Government will be persuaded that there has been no violation of the Concordat on the part of the Holy See, and that, inspired by a spirit of fairness, it will not insist on the withdrawal of the letter in question—thus sparing its own country serious religious disturbances. Such withdrawal would, in fact, be equivalent to the complete abdication of the Pontifical authority over the episcopate—an abdication which it is not in the power of the Holy Father to make, and which cannot be contemplated by the Government of the Republic. But the Holy Father, in order to give a fresh proof of his conciliatory disposition and to show that throughout all these painful incidents he has been inspired always and solely by a sense of duty, would not be unwilling to prolong by a month the term assigned to the Bishop of Dijon, provided the latter during this interval come to Rome to justify himself, and that in case of his refusal to come or of his

inability to clear himself, the Government shall show itself disposed to come to an understanding with the Holy See to make provision for the administration of the diocese. From this act of deference it is easy to see the importance the Holy See attaches to the maintenance of good relations with the Government of the Republic, founded on the exact observance of the dispositions of the Concordat. The Holy Father from the very special affection which, like his illustrious predecessor, he cherishes for the noble French nation, would be deeply grieved if the Government of the Republic, solely to prevent a bishop from justifying himself before the competent authority, allowed itself to proceed to unwarranted measures of hostility, for which, however, the Holy See could be burdened with no responsibility either before God or man.

The undersigned Cardinal Secretary of State, in begging the Chargé d'Affaires of France to acquaint his Government with all this, takes this opportunity to renew the expression of his high esteem.

Rome, July 26, 1904. R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

#### DOCUMENT XXII.

#### THE CONCORDAT OF 1801.

Between the Holy See and Napoleon, First Consul of the Republic of France; translated from the text as given by the Abbé de Pradt, in his *Quatre Concordats*. Tome 2, pp. 102 et seq.

The Government of the Republic acknowledges that the Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion is professed by the great majority of the people of France.

His Holiness, in view of the absence of the rites of this religion, feels that its restoration at this time, with its great ceremonies, under the auspices of the Consuls of

the Republic, will be generally accepted and result to the welfare of the people.

In consequence, in view of these considerations, mutually admitted, alike for the good of religion and of interior tranquillity, it is agreed:

ARTICLE 1. The Roman Catholic and Apostolic Religion shall be freely exercised in France. Its worship shall be free in conformity with such regulations of the police as the Government may deem necessary for public tranquillity.

ARTICLE 2. The Holy See, in concert with the Government, will arrange a new hierarchial fabric in France.

ARTICLE 3. His Holiness declares to the titulars of the dioceses of France that he awaits with firm confidence their acquiescence, and that in the interests of the welfare, the peace and the unity of religion, they will make every sacrifice, even to the relinquishment of their sees. After this exhortation, if they refuse this sacrifice (refusal, however, which His Holiness does not expect), there will be provided new titulars for the government of dioceses as shall be arranged in the following manner:

ARTICLE 4. The First Consul of the Republic, during the three months following the publication of the Bull of His Holiness, will nominate the Archbishops and Bishops for the newly created sees. His Holiness will confer the canonical institution, according to the forms existing in relation to France, before the change of government.

ARTICLE 5. Nominations to sees which may subsequently become vacant shall also be made by the First Consul, and canonical institution shall be conferred by the Holy See in conformity with the preceding Article.

ARTICLE 6. The prelates, before assuming their functions, shall render direct to the First Consul the oath of

fidelity customary in times prior to the change of the government, in the following terms:

I swear and promise before God upon the holy gospels to render obedience and fidelity to the government established by the Constitution of the French Republic. I promise also to have no understanding, to assist at no council, nor to join any league, either within or without, which may be contrary to public tranquillity; and if in my jurisdiction it may come to my knowledge that evil designs are meditated to the prejudice of the State, I shall make the same known to the Government.

ARTICLE 7. Ecclesiastics of the second order shall render a similar oath to the civil authorities designated by the Government.

ARTICLE 8. The following form of prayer shall be recited at the close of the divine offices in all Catholic churches in France:

*"Domine, salvam fac rempublicam. Domine, salvos fac consules."*

ARTICLE 9. The Bishops shall rearrange the circumspection of the parishes of their sees, which shall take effect when ratified by the Government.

ARTICLE 10. The Bishops shall nominate the *curés*. Their selections must be of such persons only as shall be acceptable to the Government.

ARTICLE 11. The Bishops may create chapters in their cathedrals and a seminary for their dioceses, without Government assistance.

ARTICLE 12. All metropolitan churches, cathedrals, parochial residences or other buildings for religious use, which have not been confiscated, shall be placed at the disposal of the Bishops.

ARTICLE 13. His Holiness, for the peace, welfare and happy re-establishment of the Catholic Religion, declares

that neither he nor his successors shall molest in any the purchasers of confiscated church property (*les acquéreurs des biens ecclésiastiques aliénés*), and consequently the possession and titles to such property, and the revenues appertaining thereto, shall remain incommutable in those having juridical titles thereto.

ARTICLE 14. The Government assures a proper salary to the Bishops and pastors whose dioceses and parishes shall be included within the rearrangement.

ARTICLE 15. The Government will also arrange that liberal French Catholics may make beneficial foundations in favor of churches.

ARTICLE 16. His Holiness acknowledges and concedes to the First Consul of the Republic of France the same rights and prerogatives exercised by the old Government in its relations with the Holy See.

ARTICLE 17. It is mutually agreed between the contracting parties that, in case any of the successors of the present First Consul should not be a Catholic, the rights and prerogatives named in the preceding articles, as well as the nomination of Bishops, shall be regulated, in so far as he may be concerned, by a new convention.

The ratification of these agreements shall be made at Paris within forty days. Paris, the 26, *Messidor*, the ninth year of the Republic of France.

PARIS, July 15, 1801.

|                         |         |
|-------------------------|---------|
| HERCULES CARD. CONSALVI | [L. S.] |
| J. BONAPARTE            | [L. S.] |
| J. ARCHB. OF CORINTH    | [L. S.] |
| CRETET                  | [L. S.] |
| FR. CHARLES CASELLI     | [L. S.] |
| BERNIER                 | [L. S.] |

## DOCUMENT XXIII.

THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES OF FRANCE TO THE CARDINAL  
SECRETARY OF STATE.

(VERBAL NOTE.)

After notifying on several occasions the serious attack which the action of the Holy See, in dealing directly with French Bishops, inflicts on the rights of the State under the Concordat, the Government of the Republic has, by two Notes of the present month of July, forewarned the Holy See of the conclusion which it would be compelled to draw from the persistent ignoring of its rights.

As it cannot but understand from the reply of His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State on July 26th, that the Holy See stands by the action taken without the knowledge of the Power with which it signed the Concordat, the Government of the Republic has decided to put an end to official relations which, by the will of the Holy See, are now without object.

Rome, July 30, 1904.

## DOCUMENT XXIV.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF FRANCE TO THE  
NUNCIO-APOSTOLIC IN FRANCE.

*My Lord:*

This morning the Chargé d'Affaires of France had the honor of informing His Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State that the Government of the Republic had decided to put an end to the official relations which, by the will of the Holy See, are now without object.

He added that the Government of the Republic considers the Mission of the Nuncio-Apostolic at an end. I have the honor to inform Your Excellency of this.

I beg you, my Lord, to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

DELCASSÉ.

Paris, July 30, 1904.

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## Zoology and the Origin of Man.

WAS man created by God, or is he the final product of a long series of evolutionary developments? Is God the immediate maker of man, or did man spring from the animal? This is a question of the greatest importance, one that has occupied not only the mind of the scientist and the philosopher, but has been brought before the masses of the people and contributed, perhaps, more than any other to shatter the foundations of faith and morality.

In the following lines we intend to offer a short and clear answer to this important question:

1. The *soul* of man is a spiritual substance and as such essentially different from the soul of the animal, which does not possess a spiritual faculty of abstraction and a free will and all the various gifts connected with them, as knowledge and speech, religion and morality. Hence it is plain that the human soul could *not* originate *by evolution* from the soul of animals, but only by the *creative act* of God.

2. The arguments which Haeckel and his adherents have advanced against this dogma of psychology scarcely call for refutation. Haeckel himself summarized them in his discourse at the fourth international congress of zoologists at Cambridge, England, August 26, 1898.

"In the first place," he says, "the wonderful discoveries of comparative *anatomy* during the last ten years inform us for the first time that the minute as well as the gross structure of the brain of man is the same (?)

as that of the anthropoid apes, the unimportant difference in shape and size of single parts that exists between the two being less than the corresponding difference between the anthropoid and the lowest apes of the old world. . . . Secondly, comparative *ontogeny* teaches us that the very highly complex brain of man has developed out of the same rudimentary form as that of all other vertebrate animals—out of five cerebral vesicles of the embryo that lie one behind the other. The special way and method by which the peculiar form of the primate brain is developed out of this extremely simple rudiment is found to be exactly the same in man as in the anthropoid apes. Thirdly, comparative *physiology* shows us by observation and experiment that the total functions of the brain, even consciousness and the so-called higher mental faculties (*sic!*), together with reflex acts, are in man preceded by the same physical and chemical phenomena as in all other mammals. Fourthly, we learn through comparative *pathology* that all so-called 'mental diseases' in man are determined by material changes in the material of the brain, just as they are in the nearest related mammals." Moreover, he appeals to Huxley's law: "The psychological differences between the anthropoid apes and man are less than the corresponding differences between the anthropoid and the lowest apes;" and maintains that "the enormous difference in mental capacity between the highest and lowest representatives of the human race is much greater than between the latter and the anthropoid apes" (*sic!*). Finally, he concludes with the verdict: "Since, in spite of this, we find that the soul of man is to-day regarded in the widest circles as an especial 'being' and as the most important witness against the decried doctrine of the descent of man from apes, we explain it on the

one hand by the wretched condition of the so-called psychology, on the other by the widespread superstition (*sic!*) concerning the immortality of the soul." (1)

These "arguments" are characteristic of Haeckel's school. They are not only based on imaginary facts, but imply three grave errors: namely (1), that the brain is "the organ of the soul," "the only true apparatus of our mental life;" (2) that the soul of man is not a spiritual being and consequently does not differ from the soul of the ape in kind, but only in degree; (3) that zoology and its related branches can decide a question that belongs exclusively to the domain of psychology.

3. However, man is composed of soul *and* body. Hence the question arises whether the *entire man* was directly created by God or only his spiritual soul. Philosophically speaking, this question admits the following alternative: Either we argue that most probably the soul *and* the body of man were directly created by God, because body and soul are substantially united into *one single being*; or we admit, with St. Augustine, the possibility that God made use of secondary causes in preparing the body, which was to be "informed" by the spiritual soul. Whether and to what extent this latter view is supported by *actual facts* depends on the evidence of the Natural Sciences. The final decision, however, will rest with philosophy, because man's soul and body are united to form one complete substance.

4. Consequently, we must investigate the question, whether there are any facts that suggest a common genetic origin of the animal and of the human body. Many modern naturalists answer this question in the affirma-

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(1) Ernst Haeckel, "On Our Present Knowledge of the Origin of Man." Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1898, Washington, 1899, p. 467.

tive. Conn says: "It is useless to attempt, as far as man's body is concerned, to exempt him from the general principle of evolution, and few would think of doing so to-day" (2). Nevertheless, we follow those "few naturalists," whose answer is negative; because the facts that have been advanced for the descent of man's body from that of animals do not warrant the conclusion which they are said to substantiate (3).

5. These facts are taken either from comparative anatomy and embryology or from paleontology. In the first place we propose to examine the facts alleged by paleontology and maintain:

PALEONTOLOGY DOES NOT OFFER ANY PROOF FOR THE COMMON GENETIC ORIGIN OF MAN AND APE.

This proposition is directed against those anthropologists who, as Professor Klaatsch, of Heidelberg, correctly deny any direct relationship between the present primates and man, but assert that man and ape present two independent series of development of common origin in a being that existed in the beginning of the tertiary era or previous to that period. It must be admitted that this opinion would be more acceptable than any other to explain the evolution of man's body from that of the animal, because the brain and facial skeleton of man, his erect posture, the structure of his extremities and many other facts show clearly that, zoologically speaking, man's body constitutes among the mammals an order of its own, and consequently, "that the idea of a direct descent of man from the ape is absolutely preposterous." (4)

(2) H. W. Conn, Ph.D., "Evolution of To-day," 1887, p. 293.

(3) Cf. E. Wasmann, S.J., "Zur Anwendung der Deszendenztheorie auf den Menschen," Stimmen aus Maria Laach, 1903, p. 387-410.

(4) Wasmann, l. c., p. 403.

On the other hand, we must affirm that the second part of the theory is at present nothing more than a gratuitous and even improbable assertion. This will clearly appear from the following argument:

6. It is a fact that paleontology is well acquainted with the chain of ancestors that precedes the apes of the present day. Thirty genera of fossil prosimiæ (half-apes) and eighteen genera of simiæ (true apes) have been discovered in the strata of the eocene, miocene, pliocene and glacial periods. (5) *Consequently, if the body of man had been developed from a prehistoric animal, paleontology should reveal a similar series of successive forms.* For, as Charles Lyell remarks: "There can be no doubt that human remains are as capable of resisting decay as are the harder parts of the inferior animals, and I have already cited the remark of Cuvier, that 'in ancient fields of battle the bones of man have suffered as little from decomposition as those of horses which are buried in the same grave.'" (6)

*But, not a trace of such a series of successive forms that could lead from man's hypothetical ancestor to man himself has been discovered.*

7. The proof of the *minor* proposition contains *three distinct steps*:

I. *Paleontology does not furnish the slightest evidence that man or a human-like being existed in the tertiary era.* For no bodily remains of such a being are extant, and the stones, that are said to have served as implements of the supposed tertiary man, are of a doubtful character and admit many explanations. (7) Ranke says: "In

(5) v. Zittel, "Grundzuege der Paleontologie."

(6) Charles Lyell, Esq., F.R.S., "Principles of Geology," 1835, vol. III., p. 263.

(7) Thousands of such implements have been fabricated in our own days.

spite of the very great favor with which the existence of tertiary man has been accepted, the asserted traces of relics are not sufficiently guaranteed to establish a scientific proof for the fact of his existence." "As yet tertiary man has not been found." "There is nothing, according to Virchow, opposed to the view that man existed in the tertiary period, but from this view to the proof there is a long way. *So far that proof has not been found.*" (8)

8. II. *Not a single fossil has been discovered either of the tertiary era or later, which could be interpreted as an intermediate form between the hypothetical ancestor of man and man himself.* For the principal skeletons, or parts of skeletons, that have been put forward as such intermediate forms, belong distinctly either to man or to the ape, or at least are in so poor a condition and of so doubtful a character, as to make any definite statement impossible. According to Ranke, von Zittel says: "Much zeal has been shown in searching for the fossil-ancestors (of man), and the fossil-ape has been studied with special attention. At the present day about fifteen genuine, narrow-nosed fossil-apes are known from the tertiary layers of Europe and India, and some broad-nosed kinds from the glacial strata of Brazil and Argentine. But with one exception, the *Doryopithecus*, all of them are inferior to the three great man-like kinds, the orang, chimpanzee and gorilla; and, as is proved by a jaw-bone lately discovered, *Doryopithecus* stands likewise relatively low among the so-called anthropomorphs. Hence the *postulate of the doctrine of evolution, the so-called proanthropos, the missing link between man and ape, has not been found.*" (9)

(8) Prof. Dr. Johannes Ranke, "Der Mensch," vol. II., 2d ed., 1900, p. 502, 504.

(9) Ranke, l. c., p. 504.

9. Some of the principal relics advocated as intermediate forms are (1) the skulls found at Engis, Belgium, (2) the Java skull-cap, femur and molar teeth of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, discovered by Eugene Dubois in 1894, and (3) the Neanderthal skull-cap found at Neanderthal near Dusseldorf. Now (1) after much controversy the skull found at Engis was finally examined by the Russian anatomist, Th. Landzert. According to Ranke, Landzert's verdict is "that the whole formation of the Engis skull shows that it must be enumerated among the skulls that are *especially well developed*." (10) Landzert even compared it with the skull of a Greek of the Classical period of Athens and demonstrated their perfect similarity. Huxley declared that the skull could belong to a savage as well as to a philosopher. Moreover the antiquity of the skull is controverted. (2) The Java skull-cap exhibits some features that seem to be intermediate between the skulls of a man and ape. Its capacity for instance is, according to Dubois (!), 850 ccm., whereas the smallest cap of a human female skull is 930 ccm. (Virchow), and the largest of an ape 600 ccm. But in spite of this fact, authorities as Virchow and even Klaatsch and Schwalbe agree against Dubois, Haeckel and others, that the Java skull-cap belongs to a true ape, intermediate between the lower and higher apes of the present day. Dubois himself says: "A skull that in a comparison with that of a normal man is so small and so ape-like in its form that it is declared by not a few experienced anatomists to be the skull of an ape cannot be human." (11) And again: "The skull of

(10) Ranke, l. c., p. 478.

(11) Eugene Dubois, "Pithecanthropus erectus.—A Form from the Ancestral Stock of Mankind." Smithsonian Inst., l. c., p. 454.

the gibbon, almost double in size, would not be very different from it in external appearance." (12) This criticism is not contradicted by the fact that, as Dubois states, "the femur was quite generally declared to be human by authors who had closely examined either the actual specimens or drawings of it." (13) For femur and skull-cap were found fifteen meters apart; so that it is by no means evident that both belong to the same individual. Moreover, "as man and ape would morphologically represent the last members of development of two widely diverging series, it is absolutely excluded that a connecting link between them should be of so *recent* a date as the pliocene or pleistocene period." (14) Finally, even if the skull and femur belonged to one and the same individual, it remains true that the bones in question are of too doubtful a character to admit the conclusion of Dubois and Haeckel, that "*Pithecanthropus*" is the long-sought "missing link" in the chain of the highest primates. (15)

(3) The Neanderthal skull-cap belongs to a human being. Ranke says: "Though we cannot entirely agree with Darwin, when he says that the Neanderthal skull is very well developed and spacious; nevertheless the investigations of Virchow, Spengel and others showed that the general form of that skull, its flat, compressed length, was of frequent occurrence in the vicinity of the home of the Neanderthal skull, and especially so in old Friesland, both in ancient and more modern times, and is still frequently found in that region. . . . Virchow has described a skull-cap from Eastern Friesland, and has

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(12) Dubois, l. c., p. 449.

(13) Dubois, l. c., p. 456.

(14) Wasmann, l. c., p. 405.

(15) Haeckel, l. c., p. 469.



it drawn together with the Neanderthal skull, and thus proves the greatest similarity between the two. If to such a long, compressed head strongly developed frontal cavities be added as an individual peculiarity, a neanderthaloid form will be the result. At the Anthropological Congress at Brussels, Hamy declared that in the streets of that very city he had met people with skull formations similar to that of the inhabitant of the Neanderthal. Other scientists could point to other similar skulls in Europe. Virchow proved that the peculiarities of the Neanderthal skull-cap were in part the result of a pathological development." (16)

Moreover, the stronger development of the jaw-bones of some prehistoric skulls, as, for instance, the jaw-bone from the cave of the Naulette in Belgium, finds a simple explanation in the fact that the first representatives of the human race had to undergo a most severe struggle for life than our present more delicate generations.

In short, Dana's statement is still correct, that, . . . "of that line which is supposed to have reached upward to man, not the first link between the lowest level of existing man has yet been found. This is the more extraordinary in view of the fact that from the lowest limit in existing men, there are all possible gradations up to the highest, while below that limit there is an abrupt fall to the ape level, in which the cubic capacity of the brain is one-half less. *If the links ever existed, their annihilation without a relic is so extremely improbable that it may be pronounced impossible.* Until some are found, science cannot assert that they ever existed." (17)

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(16) Ranke, l. c., p. 474.

(17) James D. Dana, "Manual of Geology," Ed. 3. p. 293.

Hence we agree with Conn, when he says: "The absence of fossil half-man is unfortunate for evolution," but we deviate from him when he wants to explain the absence of the fossil half-man by stating: . . . "it is scientifically only an instance of the imperfection of the fossil record, which we well know to be great." (18)

10. III. Without being introduced by any tertiary ancestor, *man appears all at once in the glacial period as a perfect homo sapiens*, possessing a skull and skeleton as any man of historic times. Kollmann says, according to Ranke: "I wish, first of all, to remark that I adhere to the theory of evolution, now reigning supreme in the domain of the natural sciences. Nevertheless my own experiences have resulted in the conclusion that man has not changed his characteristics since the ice-period. He makes his appearance in Europe physically perfect and differentiated into various races from the very beginning. There are no ape-men, but at once the different types of the true man, of the *homo sapiens*, with his characteristic marks, which have endured up to the present day. I emphasize it again, physical man has not changed since the glacial period." And Ranke adds: "And no one has hitherto been able to trace man beyond the glacial period." (19)

11. That man really *existed in the glacial period* is acknowledged by all paleontologists. Geikie says: "There can be no doubt that he (man) inhabited Europe after the greatest extension of the ice. He not improbably migrated with the animals that came from warmer climates into this continent during interglacial conditions. But that he remained when the climate again became cold enough to freeze the rivers and permit an

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(18) Conn, l. c., p. 293.

(19) Ranke, l. c., p. 480.

arctic fauna to roam far south into Europe is proved by the abundance of his flint implements in the thick river gravels, into which they no doubt often fell through holes of the ice as he was fishing." (20) Also, Ranke maintains: "The glacial European remains an undeniable fact of science." (21)

12. The fact that man existed from the very beginning as a *perfect homo* is clearly shown by the following observations:

(1) The skeletons that have been found are by no means of a primitive and uniform character; on the contrary, they exhibit all the essential features and differences that are noticed in our present generation. Ranke distinguishes three races of early man, the Kannstatt race, the race of Grenelle and the Cro-Magnon race. And all of them are still represented even in the full light of modern civilization. Kollmann even goes so far as to maintain that all the races of Europe are of equal age, and that it is wrong to speak of primitive races in order to express some kind of inferiority. "There are no primitive races of Europe in this sense." (22)

(2) It is utterly untrue "that the evidence seems to render it probable that the earliest races, ranging from the East Indies to Western Europe, possessed features more simian than are characteristic of any race of men now in existence." (23) Ranke says: "Though the fertile imagination of many a theorist on creation may represent the primitive man of Europe as a half-simian climber, who built his nest on trees and possessed over-

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(20) Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S., "Text-book of Geology," 3 Ed., 1893, p. 1056.

(21) Ranke, l. c., p. 502.

(22) Ranke, l. c., p. 481.

(23) Dana-Rice, "Revised Text-book of Geology," 5 Ed., p. 440.

long arms and short, yoke-toed legs, he appears to us in reality, in his many representatives, as a member of the well-formed, peculiarly beautiful race of Cro-Magnon." (24) For we need but compare the skulls of prehistoric man with those of later periods in order to arrive at the conclusion that both were of equal perfection. Ranke gives the following table of the average capacity of historic and prehistoric skulls:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Parisian of the 12th century.....                   | 1532 cbcm. |
| Modern Parisian .....                               | 1558 cbcm. |
| Prehistoric cave-inhabitants of Cro-Magnon .....    | 1590 cbcm. |
| Prehistoric skulls from the cave L'homme mort ..... | 1606 cbcm. |
| Prehistoric northern "Dolmenbauer".....             | 1586 cbcm. |
| (Broca)   |            |

(3) It is equally false that prehistoric man could not walk perfectly erect. Collignon based this false assertion on the retroversion of the knee-joint, which, as he maintained, was peculiar to prehistoric man. "But Manouvrier destroyed this dream of the animal-like inferiority of primitive man. By very exact measurements of a great many tibiae, he has shown that the retroversion of those tibiae of the glacial period is not greater, but most decidedly smaller than in modern skeletons." (25)

13. Finally, we may add that prehistoric man was endowed with a spiritual intellect in no way essentially inferior to ours. This fact is shown by the human relics and implements that are still extant. The very names Stone-Age, Bronze-Age, Iron-Age point to this fact. Even the sketch of a mammoth and of other an-

(24) Ranke, l. c., p. 482.

(25) Ranke, l. c., p. 483.

imals by contemporaneous man has been preserved. If we pay due regard to the circumstances in which primitive man lived—and do not forget that he it was who had to *commence* the work of civilization—we must grant that there is no reason to assume his intellectual inferiority. In this sense we understand and accept the statement of Le Conte, when he says: "The earliest known man, the river-drift man, though in a low state of civilization, was as thoroughly human as any of us." (26)

14. We conclude by summarizing according to the stenographic notes of Wasmann the main contents of Branco's famous lecture at the Fifth International Congress of Zoölogists, at Berlin, August 16, 1901.

Man makes his appearance in the history of our earth as a true *homo novus*, and not as a descendant of preceding generations. Most of our present mammals are represented in the tertiary period by a long series of fossil ancestors, but man appears all of a sudden in the glacial period without a single tertiary ancestor known to paleontology. Tertiary relics of man are wanting, and the traces of human activity that were believed to be of tertiary origin are of a very dubious nature. Glacial fossils of man, on the other hand, are frequently met with. But glacial man appears as a perfect *homo sapiens*. Most of those very ancient men possessed a skull-cap of which any of us could be proud. Neither arms nor teeth of glacial man were more ape-like or longer than ours; *no! glacial man was every inch a true man*. Hence, who was the ancestor of man? Branco answers: "*Paleontology has no answer to that question. She knows of no ancestors to man.*" (27)

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(26) Joseph Le Conte, "A Compend of Geology," p. 300.

(27) "Stimmen aus Maria Laach," l. c., p. 407-408.

15. We now proceed to the second series of facts, which are taken especially from comparative morphology and histology, embryology and ontogeny, and we again ask whether these sciences have established any acceptable argument in favor of the evolution of man's body from the ape or an ape-like animal? The answer is formulated in the following proposition:

NEITHER THE ANATOMICAL SIMILARITY OF MAN AND APE, NOR THEIR EMBRYOLOGICAL HISTORY, NOR THEIR "RELATION OF BLOOD," CONSTITUTES A PROOF FOR THE COMMON GENETIC ORIGIN OF MAN AND APE.

The *first* part is directed against Huxley, C. Vogt, Darwin, Haeckel, and all those who conclude the descent of man from the animal on account of the similarity of structure between the body of man and that of the ape, or found their argument on some "ape-like" forms of human beings still in existence.

The *second* part has to do with Haeckel's famous "argument" from embryology.

The *third* part examines the "argument" of Dr. Hans Friedenthal, who imagines that he has shown the animal-descent of man from a "relation of blood," that is said to exist between man and ape.

16. Commencing with the argument from comparative anatomy, we willingly admit that the physical nature of man belongs to the vertebrate sub-kingdom and to the class of mammals, just as the monkey does. Ranke says: "From the point of view of his organical structure, the similarity between man and the highest animal, the mammals in general, and especially the anthropoids, is so great that we may lawfully call the likeness in many regards fundamental. And what is true of the structure is still more so, and not unfrequently in a higher degree, of their organical functions; the animal has the same

foundation for its organism; the same laws of physical life as man." (28) Nor do we deny the statement of Darwin: "It is notorious that man is constructed on the same general type or model as other mammals. All the bones in his skeleton can be compared with corresponding bones in a monkey, bat or seal. So it is with his muscles, nerves, blood-vessels and internal viscera. The brain, the most important of all the organs, follows the same law. . . ." (29) "When we compare the brain of the highest apes with that of man, the difference in their structure is as small as the probability of finding a fundamental diversity in their hearts, lungs or any other interior organ." (30) Moreover, Selenka's discovery of 1890, that in their embryological development both man and the anthropoid ape manifest the formation of such a placenta as is not to be found in lower apes, points strongly to the great resemblance which actually exists between the body of man and that of the anthropoid ape.

17. *But, this similarity does not prove a genetic relation of man and ape.*

For (1) it admits an explanation that does not imply the descent of man from an ape-like being, namely, the original creation of man's body in its present form. Each creature and the entire universe may be considered as the grand realization of a divine idea, manifold in its legions of single forms and one in their entirety. It was befitting that man, the king of the visible world, should express in some eminent manner the structure of single parts and the laws of organization manifested in the forms over which he holds sway.

(28) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, 2 Ed., 1894, p. 437.

(29) Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., "The Descent of Man," Vol. I, Science, 1902, p. 22.

(30) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, p. 544.

(2) Moreover, this similarity is accompanied by such striking differences that Haeckel's proposition, which he calls a "conviction, unalterably settled," that "man is descended from a series of extinct Old World apes," (31) is proved to be a gratuitous assertion on his part.

18. The enumeration of a few facts will support this statement:

(1) The capacity of the skull-cap of man and ape is shown in the following table (32) taken from Ranke:

| Skull's Origin.      | Number<br>of<br>Skulls. | Average<br>(Cb. Cm.) | Minimum<br>(Cb. Cm.) | Maximum<br>(Cb. Cm.) |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Bavarian (male)....  | 100                     | 1503                 | 1260                 | 1780                 |
| Bavarian (female) .. | 100                     | 1535                 | 1100                 | 1683                 |
| Gorilla (male).....  | 16                      | 498                  | 461                  | 605                  |
| Gorilla (female).... | 3                       | 458                  | 383                  | 563                  |
| Chimpanzee (male)... | 7                       | 409                  | 371                  | 460                  |
| Chimpanzee (female)  | 3                       | 392                  | 376                  | 413                  |
| Orang (male) .....   | 3                       | 426                  | 420                  | 464                  |
| Orang (female) ..... | 1                       | 406                  | ...                  | ...                  |

Circumference of the skull (33)....Caucasian.....550 mm.

" " " ....Negro .....510 mm.

" " " ....Gorilla.....340 mm.

" " " ....Orang .....320 mm.

(2) The difference of the facial angle, measured by two lines drawn from the middle of the upper jaw-bone to the middle of the frontal bone and to the ear respectively, appears from the following table:

Man, 70-85°,

Adult Orang, 30°,

Young Orang, 58°, (34)

Adult Chimpanzee, 35°,

Adult Gorilla, 40°,

(31) Haeckel, l. c., p. 466.

(32) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, p. 409.

(33) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 7.

(34) On beholding the degradation of the orang expressed in the facial angle of this ape, an enthusiastic Darwinist exclaims: "Alas, for your sad fate! The cares of supporting your life and family have made it utterly impossible for you to attain a higher grade of civilization."



"The face of man slides, as it were, down from the forehead and appears as an appendix to the front half of the skull. The gorilla's face, on the contrary, protrudes from the skull, which in return slides almost entirely backwards from the face. By a cross-cut, one may sever the whole face from the skull, except a very small part near the sockets, without being forced to open up the interior of the skull. It is only on account of its protruding, strongly developed lower parts that the small skull-cap of the animal can mask as a kind of human face." (35)

(3) The *relative* weight of *brains* in comparison with the mass of the body may be understood from the following table: (36)

|  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| Man (German), 1:36.58,                             | Gorilla, 1:100.00.  |
| Absolute weight of brain:                          |                     |
| Man (German), 1362 g.                              | Gorilla, 400-500 g. |
| Lowest weight of woman's brain (Bushwoman), 820 g. |                     |
| Orang-Chimpanzee, 350-400 g.                       |                     |

"The striking deficiency of the ape's brain refers only to the cerebrum, which, when compared with its development in man, stands far below that of a new-born child." And "the resemblance of the ape's brain to that of man is solely due to the fact that the hemispheres of the cerebrum which do not act automatically have a great preponderance over those parts of the brain which are endowed with automatic action." (37) This appears still more clearly if we compare the weights of the two cerebral hemispheres. In the orang it is only 79.7 grams whilst in man it is practically equivalent to the weight of the entire brain. Moreover, the surfaces of the two brains show a remarkable difference. If we un-

(35) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, p. 401.

(36) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, pp. 552-556.

(37) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, pp. 542, 544.

fold the windings of a human brain and measure the area of the entire surface, we have 2196-1877 sq. cm., whilst the surface of the ape's brain does not exceed 533.5 square centimetres. (38)

(4) The relation of the parts of the appendicular skeleton compared with the length of the entire body! If we suppose the length of the body to be 100, we have, according to Ranke, the following proportions: (39)

| Part of the Body | Gorilla. | Chimpanzee. | Orang. | Negro. |
|------------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------|
| Trunk .....      | 50.4     | 44.80       | 44.50  | 36.27  |
| Arm and hand...  | 64.9     | 67.67       | 80.72  | 45.43  |
| Leg .....        | 34.9     | 35.20       | 34.72  | 48.93  |
| Hand .....       | 17.4     | 23.00       | 22.8   | 11.6   |
| Foot .....       | 20.4     | 20.5        | 25.5   | 14.5   |

The Orang-utan never stands freely on his hindlegs, and all representations showing him in this posture are wrong; he is able to run as the gibbons do, but jerks himself forward by planting his long arms, like crutches, on the ground. (40) Moreover, "the ability of the anthropoid to walk erectly is by no means superior to that of a dancing bear, and it has no greater resemblance to man from this point of view than has that animal. Brehm is perfectly right when he says that mammals walk either on two or four legs. But man alone and no other (!) animal has an erect walk; no ape walks upright." (41)

Finally, Cuvier's term "Bimana and Quadrumana" to designate the difference of man and ape have not been overthrown by Huxley, as Haeckel states. For

(38) Wilhelm Wundt, "Physiologische Psychologie," fifth ed., 1902, Vol. I, p. 289.

(39) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, pp. 7-8.

(40) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 30.

(41) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 32.

the term "hand," signifies an organ, "adapted for grasping, the last member of which is a thumb that can be bent across the whole member," (42) a definition which certainly applies to the feet of apes. The feet of man are exclusively organs of support, his hands are exclusively organs for grasping. This distinction is not to be found in apes.

(5) The most striking differences between man and anthropoid apes are summarized by Ranke as follows:

"The gorilla's head, leaning forward, hangs down from the spinal column, and his chinless snout, equipped with powerful teeth, touches the breast-bone. Man's head is round, and, resting on a free neck, balances unrestrained upon the spinal column. The gorilla's body, without a waist, swells out barrell-shaped, and when straightened up finds no sufficient support on the pelvis; the back-bone, tailless as in man but almost straight, loses itself without nape or neck formation properly so-called in the rear part of the head and without protuberance of the gluteal region in the flat thighs. Man's body is slightly molded, like an hour-glass, the chest and the abdomen meeting to form the waist where they are narrowest; the abdominal viscera are perfectly supported in the pelvis as in a plate; and elegance is decidedly gained by the double S-line, which, curving alternately convex and concave, passes from the crown through the neck and nape, down the back to the spine and the gluteal region. The normal position of the gorilla shows us a plump, bear-like trunk, carried by short, crooked legs and by arms which serve as crutches and touch the ground with the knuckles of the turned-in fingers. The posture of the body is perfectly straight in man, it rests

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(42) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 74.

on the legs as on columns when he stands upright, and his hands hang down on both sides always ready for use. The gorilla is thickly covered with hair, whilst man's body on the whole is naked." (43)

19. These numerous differences clearly demonstrate that *there cannot be any direct genetic relation between man and ape*, and this conclusion is corroborated by the fact that *there are no ape-like forms among existing men*. The enumeration of a few facts is sufficient for our purpose:

(1) The differences in bodily proportions that have been observed in various races of men are *individual* variations of development, and in no wise adapted to establish a distinction between more and less ape-like races. "All the hopes and efforts to discover a series of bodily formations which would lead from the most ape-like savages to the least ape-like Europeans have as yet resulted in utter failure." (44) Very striking is the utterance of one of the highest authorities on this question, A. Weisbach, who maintains that the ape-like forms of organs actually found in some individuals are not confined to a single race or nation, but spread and distributed over all of them. Ranke himself has found that precisely the "lowest savages" present in their bodily proportions the furthest extreme from those of the ape.

(2) The so-called inborn deformities or abnormal developments of certain individuals as "haired and tailed" men, and so forth, are very rare and mostly due to irregularities in the development of the embryo. Tailed ape-men, in the proper sense of the word, do not exist. "In our own days observations have furnished us with an invulnerable argument that no race of men with tails

(43) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 213.

(44) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 79.

exists on this earth." (45) The whole fable is principally due to the fact that certain tribes have the custom of adorning themselves with the tails of animals or similar appendages. "Certain formations, similar to tails in their proper sense, that have sometimes been found at the end of man's backbone, have been thoroughly studied and explained by M. Bartels. The conclusions of this author make it evident that all such formations are genuine deformities, abnormally developed remnants of the individual's embryonic life." (46) "Such deformities must be considered as inborn diseases." (47)

Moreover, Linné's "homo ferus" has no existence in reality. Ranke says that it is "foolish" (48) to believe in this fiction. "It is humbug and fraud" to designate such creatures as Krao (49) as missing links. Finally, the famous Cretins and Microcephali are pathological symptoms and cannot be explained as atavistic forms. For, as Virchow argues, "no one can maintain that the human race was ever in a condition analogous to the Microcephali, as it would have perished before history commenced. No such 'small-brained' being is able to procure independently the necessary means of subsistence. . . ." (50) In short, Ranke considers the following proposition as an established fact: "*There are at the present day in the entire human species neither races, nor nations, nor tribes, nor families, nor*

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(45) Ranke, Vol. I, p. 181.

(46) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, p. 182.

(47) Ranke, l. c., Vol. I, p. 187.

(48) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 377.

(49) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 378. Krao was a young girl of Siamese parentage. Her body was covered with hair, and she was said to have a tail like an ape. Some ten years ago she was led through England and Germany, and her appearance in Berlin and London caused a considerable sensation.

(50) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 389.

*single individuals, which could be designated zoologically as intermediate forms between the ape and man."* (51)

20. We have now to consider briefly Haeckel's "argument" from embryology. Haeckel maintains that there exists an anatomical parallelism between the various stages in man's embryology and his past history, and infers that this could only be explained by assuming a genetic parallelism between the same stages.

We answer this argument (1) by denying the conclusion; for there is no connection of cause between the various stages of man's embryology and the supposed stages of his past history. The supposed anatomical parallelism does not necessarily imply evolution.

(2) By denying the antecedent. For (a) Haeckel's anatomical parallelism is a mere fiction. According to Haeckel, the first and second stage of the human ovum, in which it consists of only one cell, is a repetition of man's racial development, when he had the honor to belong to the single-celled monera and amebae. The third stage, the morula or mulberry-formation of the human germ, is an evident reminder of his synameboid existence, whilst the fourth stage, the blastodermic vesicle, clearly represents the historical stage of the flagellates and ciliates, and the fifth, the gastrula-development, points without any doubt to the fancied gastreaes, which were so happy as to consist of a single cavity. Then comes the sixth phase, in which the human embryo represents the primitive worm, which is soon followed by the seventh, that of the molluscs, and the eighth, a reproduction of the urochordatae or ascidians. These worthy animals close the first half of the human ancestral pedigree. Commencing the second half, we are lead upwards and onwards to the skulless lancelet, the lamprey,

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(51) Ranke, l. c., Vol. II, p. 392.

and the stage of fishes, when our forebears were the happy owners of fins and gills and smiled the genial smile of the shark. The twelfth stage is that of the lung-fish, the thirteenth the siren, and the fourteenth that of the salamander and polliwog—in happy recollection of which blissful fact we even at present distinguish a certain class of men with the endearing title of polliwogs. In the fifteenth stage of the embryonic development Haeckel puts the reptiles, then come the monotremes, the marsupials, the lemurs, the tailed apes, then the ape-man, the man-ape, until finally, in the twenty-second stage, the *homo sapiens* is reached, who enters upon the scene of this world's sorrows and joys as a full-fledged cosmopolitan citizen. (52)

(b) This supposed parallelism is directly opposed to the reality. For by far the greater number of stages in the embryonic development of the individual do not at all agree with the various stages of genetic development in past history. Haeckel's own attempt to solve this difficulty by his distinction between palingenesis, which expresses the stages of agreement, and cainogenesis, which comprise the exceptions, is certainly insufficient, and the very reason which he advances to account for the exceptions, namely, that they should be due to a "development falsification" of nature is a mere phrase, or rather the falsification of a phantastic mind.

21. The third part of our thesis is directed against Dr. Hans Friedenthal, who in the years 1900-1902 attempted to prove a blood relationship between man and the anthropoid apes. He maintains that human blood has the property of decomposing the blood of lower

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(52) Wasmann, l. c., p. 396. Conn says: "Of these twenty-one stages, more than half have been proved to be wrong, and in regard to some of the others it is questionable. This attempt of Haeckel, made with such boldness as almost to inspire belief, is thus a failure." l. c., p. 149.

apes, whilst it has no such effect on the blood of those of a higher species. Hence, he concludes: "We do not only descend from apes, but we are true apes ourselves."

We gladly wish the author joy in this happy conclusion, but protest against its wider application, and this for two reasons: (53) because

(1) the results are still dubious and the experiments do not perfectly agree:

(2) even if the fact were undoubtedly true we could only infer a similarity of chemical properties between the blood of two beings but not their genetic relation. For it would have to be proved that a genetic relation is the only explanation of the alleged fact. But this cannot be done, for although Friedenthal showed experimentally that the blood of a crab (*cancer pagurus*) is indissoluble in the red corpuscles of a rat, it would be absurd to rush at the conclusion, that rats descend directly from crabs. Consequently, it would be equally illogical to make a similar conclusion between man and ape. Indeed, we could well invert the whole process and say: In the same way as the rat is not directly related to the crab, so also does man stand in no direct relationship to the orang.

Therefore zoology does not support the theory of a possible descent of man's body from that of the ape. Hence we have every reason to reject this theory, especially as infidel naturalists adopt it and misuse it for the defense of materialism. Even Branco, who maintains with great emphasis that the evidence of paleontology is negative in regard to this question, states nevertheless that "from a mere zoological point of view we must accept the descent of man from the animal." (54)

(53) Wasmann, l. c., p. 400-401.

(54) Wasmann, l. c., p. 408.



# **Catholic Education**

**IN THE**

## **United States**

**Prepared for the Catholic Congress of  
Melbourne, Australia**

THE history of education in the United States cannot but have a very special interest for Catholics in Australia. The conditions of both countries are very similar. Their elements and forces of civilization are alike, and will doubtless produce like effects. Where the United States are to-day in the march of social and intellectual, not to say political, development, Australia will be in a few

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NOTE—The works consulted for this paper were chiefly the following:

Decreta Conc. Plen. Balt. I., II., III.

Decreta Conc. Prov. Balt.

The Church in Colonial Days. By John Gilmary Shea.

Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education.

History of Georgetown University. By John Gilmary Shea.

The Only True American School System. By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J.

Brief Chronological Account. By Rev. J. M. Considine.

Historical Sketch of Catholic Parochial Schools in the Archdiocese of Boston. By Rev. Louis S. Walsh.

The Making of Our Middle Schools. By E. E. Brown.

The Public School System of the United States. By Dr. J. M. Rice.

years hence. Much will depend, therefore, on the leaven wherewith the entire mass is leavened. That leaven is education. If the leaven is Christian, the mass will be Christian. If the leaven is godless, the mass will be godless. If the leaven lose its virtue, the mass will be tasteless, shapeless—indifferent.

Such is the *rudis indigestaque moles* we contemplate now in the United States—a negatively pagan mass, possessing, to a great extent, all the amenities of outward Christian culture and only a sprinkling of Christianity itself. Of the seventy-five or eighty millions who inhabit these States, not more than twenty-three millions profess any definite form of Christianity; and even of these, a considerable number are unbaptized; so that if we deduct one half of the number of professing Christians, who are Catholics, there remain outside the Catholic Church only ten or twelve millions who have anything more than the external garb of Christianity.

It must therefore be interesting and instructive for Australians to consider the causes which led up to this condition of things—the leaven which has leavened this mass,—in other words, the education which resulted in this peculiar phase of social and religious life.

Education has played a most important part in the history of the United States. In no country in the world have such efforts been made by communities and individuals to bring education within the reach of all. From the very start provision was made by the colonists, many of whom were themselves scholars and the alumni or graduates of the best English public schools and universities, for all grades of schools, from the elementary to the university.

In old Virginia, at a time when the colony seemed to be struggling for existence, before the Indian massacre

of 1622, steps were taken for the foundation of a college and a Latin school, which, of course, supposes the existence of common schools. But still more strenuous and successful efforts were made in the New England colonies. The first organized public school which attracts our attention is the Boston Latin School, founded and endowed by public subscription in 1635. It subsequently became a valuable feeder for Harvard College, which was founded some four years later. Similar schools were opened at Salem, Mass., 1637, and at Dorchester, 1639. The latter is the first school known to have been supported by direct taxation of the community. At the same time schools were inaugurated on similar lines at Newbury, and at Cambridge, Mass., adjacent to Harvard. The head of this latter was Master Elijah Corlett, "who had well approved himself for his abilities, dexterity and painfulness in teaching and education of the youth under him." The Free School of Roxbury was founded in 1645. Soon after, or contemporaneously with these, we find similar institutions in New Haven, Conn., Newport and Providence, R. I., and Plymouth, Mass. As early as 1659 the Dutch colonists of Manhattan Island hired a Polish schoolmaster for the education of the youth of the community; nor was the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania backward in the matter of education.

The spirit which animated the early colonists may be illustrated by a prayer offered on one occasion by John Eliot, who was surnamed the Apostle of the Indians. This God-fearing man, as Cotton Mather relates, before a convention of his brethren, prayed as follows: "Lord, for schools everywhere among us! That our schools may flourish! That every member of this assembly may go home and procure a good school to be encouraged in the town where he lives! That before we die we may be so

happy as to see a good school encouraged in every plantation in the country!" This was the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers, and this spirit has been inherited by their children and appropriated largely by the subsequent immigrants and their descendants. In fact, public education has, to a great extent, become a religion, and degenerated into a fetich with the American people. The national idol is "our glorious system of Public Schools, the bulwark of our rights, the Palladium of our liberties."

These early colonial schools were variously termed free, public, grammar, Latin schools. They were accessible to all free of charge. They were no more than elementary schools, in fact, with a tendency to become high schools as soon as occasion demanded. They were eminently religious in their character and strictly denominational. They were obligatory on the community, though not compulsory on the individual.

In the colony of Massachusetts it was enacted by decree of the General Court, in 1647, that schools were to be erected and maintained at the public expense by all communities numbering fifty families, and that a grammar school was to be supported wherever the community numbered one hundred families. These schools were strictly church schools, modeled on the old Scotch Presbyterian schools sanctioned by Act of the Scottish Parliament in the preceding year, though the coincidence of the time of both acts seems to have been merely fortuitous. The motive of the Massachusetts Act is clearly put forth in the preamble, which runs as follows: "It being one chief project of that ould deluder, Satan, to keepe men from ye knowledge of ye Scriptures, . . . that learning may not be buried in ye grave of our fathers in ye church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours,—It is, therefore, ordered," etc. What would the good

Puritan fathers of the General Court of Massachusetts say of our modern unsectarian public schools, with all the reading of the Scriptures "without note or comment"? Doubtless they would say Anathema! and declare that the "abomination of desolation" had taken possession of the holy place!

While Puritans, Quakers, High Churchmen and Dutch colonists were thus active in the work of education in the colonies of the New World, the few Catholics in colonial days were not idle. In fact they did their share nobly in this noble work. In the Catholic colony of Maryland the Jesuits, from the very outset, secured facilities for a Catholic education for the children of the colonists. As early as 1640, steps were taken by Father Poulton, S.J., towards the establishment of a higher seat of learning, which finally, after many vicissitudes, resulted in the foundation of Georgetown University in 1798. The project was delayed by persecution; but even in the midst of dire tribulation the Jesuits succeeded, not only in supplying the necessary means of elementary education, but also in maintaining a classical high school, which prepared a goodly number of youths for higher studies in St. Omer and other English colleges in Europe. This high school was obliged, in the face of persecution, to migrate from place to place. At one time we find it in a thriving condition at Calverton Manor; at another time, at Newtown Manor; later, it is forced to take refuge at Bohemia Manor, on the the east shore of the Chesapeake. It was here that John Carroll, first Bishop and Archbishop of Baltimore, and Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the prominent signers of the Declaration of Independence, received their preparatory training. Finally, the Catholic High School of Maryland was transplanted by Bishop Carroll to Georgetown Heights, on the Po-

tomac, where it found a last resting-place and became the nursery of many of the most conspicuous men in every walk of American life. It was sown in tears, but it rose in glory at the early dawn of the resuscitated Society of Jesus, and to-day it is a fully equipped university, with its three faculties of Letters, Law and Medicine, and hundreds of earnest, hard-working Catholic students, the hope of the Catholic laity in America. Within a stone's throw of Georgetown University is the Academy of the Visitation, conducted by the daughters of St. Francis de Sales, rivalling it in antiquity and in success, whose pride it is to have educated many of the first women of America—also the creation of Archbishop Carroll and his saintly coadjutor, Bishop Neale.

In early colonial days, 1682, under the Catholic Governor Dongan, an attempt was made by the Jesuit missionaries Harvey and Harrison to establish a high school in New York City. It was known as the New York Latin School, and stood where now is the junction of Broadway and Wall street. It flourished till 1688, and collapsed with James II. and his Catholic representative on Manhattan Island. This was the only attempt at a Catholic school made in New York, or, in fact, outside of Maryland, in colonial times. The first parochial school in New York City was opened at the instigation of Bishop Carroll, by the Rev. William O'Brien in 1800, at St. Peter's Church, Barclay street. It bore the name of St. Peter's Free School, and still survives the vicissitudes of a century, under the shadow of a score of skyscrapers and amid the turmoil of one of New York's busiest sections. Its pupils are over 1,000, taught by twenty teachers.

With the dawn of civil liberty began the great struggle for Catholic education. The necessity of Catholic schools was acknowledged by the Catholic people and

clergy in the colonial times, as the principle of religious education was admitted by all without distinction of creed. Washington in his farewell address gave eloquent expression to this principle: "Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in the exclusion of religious principle." So writes the Father of his country. How much more is this the case if applied, not to national, but to personal morality?

"Religious principle," however, was soon excluded from education, and the non-sectarian, that is, the non-religious principle was adopted in the States. Nothing positively irreligious was to be taught, but positive religion of any kind was proscribed; only the reading of the Bible, "without note or comment," was tolerated. Religion was relegated to the Sunday school, which, as all earnest religious thinkers easily admit, is, to say the least, a very poor makeshift. This became a snare and a delusion to Catholics. They could not deny that the principle was wrong, especially after the declaration of Pius IX. in a brief addressed to the Archbishop of Freiburg, dated July 14, 1864, and propositions 47-48 of the Syllabus of December the 8th of the same year, and the detailed instruction of the Inquisition to the Bishops of the United States, June the 30th, 1875, concerning the American public schools. From these utterances it was evident that the sole control of education could not be abandoned to a secular state; that there could be no legitimate plea for entirely exempting schools of any kind or grade from the influence of the Church; that no Catholic could approve a system of education, divorced from the authority of the Church and the Catholic faith, and having for its sole or main object merely natural or secu-

lar training; that consequently the American public schools, being such as might not be approved by Catholics, being destructive to faith and morals, could not, except in very urgent cases, and with very special precautions, be frequented by Catholic children or youths.

The words of the Inquisition are very definite. After quoting previous declarations of the Holy See and advertising to the dangers of a merely secular education, the Sacred Congregation concludes: "It is therefore necessary that the illustrious prelates (of the United States), by all possible means, keep the flock entrusted to their charge aloof from the corrupting influence of the Public Schools. In the opinion of all, nothing is so necessary for this end, as that Catholics should everywhere have their own schools, and these not inferior to the Public Schools."

It is needless to say that the declarations and injunctions of the Holy See were received with the greatest submission by the American bishops. In fact, these papal utterances only formulated the principles and policy by which the American bishops were always guided.

The I. Provincial Council of Baltimore, in 1829, declared that "they regarded it absolutely necessary that schools be established, in which the youth should be taught the elements of faith and morals, while they are instructed in letters."

The I. Plenary Council of Baltimore (1852) urges the foundation of Catholic schools in the most forcible terms: "We exhort the Bishops, and, considering the grave evils which are wont to result from perverse training, we implore them by the divine mercy to have schools attached to each church in their bishoprics, and, if necessary, and convenient, to provide from the church revenue sufficient funds to maintain competent teachers."

The II. Plenary Council (1866) urges the same regu-



lation with increased force: "Following in the footsteps of our predecessors, we earnestly admonish the pastors of souls to use all their endeavors to establish parish schools wherever it is possible." The Fathers earnestly recommend the employment of the religious teaching congregations, wherever they may be had, for the work of education.

The III. Council of Baltimore (1884) is still more explicit, and strictly enjoins what in the previous synods was only a strong recommendation. Hardly less could be expected after the instruction of the Inquisition issued but nine years before. After reviewing the previous instructions of the Holy See and of the Provincial and Plenary Councils on the matter of education, the Fathers of the III. Plenary Council decree in the strictest form, as follows:

"We enact and decree:

"1. That adjoining each church, where such does not exist, within two years from the promulgation of this Council, a school shall be erected and perpetually maintained, unless the bishop, on account of serious (*gravior*) difficulties, judge a delay to be granted.

"2. That the priest who, within this time, by grave neglect has prevented the erection or maintenance of a school, or who, after repeated admonitions by the bishop, neglects to make provision for a school, deserves to be removed from his charge.

"3. That the mission or parish which neglects to cooperate with the priest in building and supporting a school, so as by such supine neglect to make it impossible for the school to exist, is to be rebuked by the bishop, and urged by efficacious and prudent means to contribute the necessary support.

"4. That all Catholic parents are bound to send their

children to parish schools unless they sufficiently and clearly provide for their Christian education, either at home or in other Catholic schools; or unless they are permitted, for a sufficient reason, approved by the bishop, and with sufficient precautions and remedies, to send them to other schools. What school is Catholic is to be decided by the judgment of the Ordinary."

This legislation seems to be sufficiently clear and comprehensive. While it enforces a general *modus agendi*, making it obligatory on parents, priests, and bishops, it leaves much latitude to the Ordinary in special cases within the limits of his jurisdiction. It was therefore natural to expect that the execution of these laws should vary widely, and depend greatly upon circumstances, as well as upon the degree of zeal, and the peculiar views and sympathies of priests and prelates. The consequence is, that, while in the diocese of Rochester, for instance, which is justly regarded as a model for Catholic education, seven out of eight; in Buffalo, six out of seven; in Cincinnati, five out of six of the Catholic children attend Catholic schools; in other representative dioceses the ratio is one to two, two to five, two to seven, and so on *decrescendo*. An attempt was made, especially during the recent school controversy—more, I believe, by the agency of a reckless press and by the agitation of irresponsible individuals than by any responsible ecclesiastical authority—to defeat those laws; but Rome, while upholding the freedom of the bishops to compromise in certain cases, repeatedly answered that the decrees of the III. Plenary Council of Baltimore were to remain in force.

It will be interesting to learn what the Church in the United States has, by a century of legislation, self-sacrifice and hard work, achieved in the field of Catholic

education. According to the latest issue of the American Catholic Directory, we are educating over one million of Catholic children in Catholic schools. Our parish schools number four thousand, and are mostly taught by religious. We have one hundred and sixty-two colleges and high schools for boys, and six hundred and forty-three academies for girls, all self-supporting. Besides these there are eight institutions bearing the title of Universities, some, at least, of which also deserve that name. Of these, to my knowledge, only two are endowed. The others have to live on the fees of the students. We have every reason, then, to be thankful and even justly proud of the work done, and to look forward with confidence into the future.

But much still remains to be done. More than one half our children still frequent secular schools; and of the Catholic young men and women who receive a higher education, whether at high school or at college, it is safe to say that considerably more than one half are educated in secular, some even in Protestant, institutions. The number of our Catholic young men attending the undergraduate classes, to say nothing of the professional schools, of the great Protestant and secular universities, is very considerable. Though I have not been able to obtain any reliable statistics of the number of our Catholic youth attending Protestant and secular colleges and universities, I could point out a half dozen of these in which certainly no fewer than one thousand of our Catholic youths are educated. The Protestant and secular women's colleges are also educating a corresponding number of our Catholic young women. There is no good reason why this should be so. Of course, there is the pecuniary difficulty, but this difficulty has been overcome in many places and might be

overcome in many others. To give one instance of what may be done, I have before my mind at this moment a pastor, who less than twenty years ago was appointed to one of those apparently impossible places in the heart of New York City,—a large church, in rather neglected condition, no school and more than \$200,000 of debt. In less than fifteen years that pastor built and paid for one of the finest schools in the city, refitted the church at very considerable expense, paid off the debt, and had his church consecrated—all of which cost him little less than half a million. That pastor is the Right Rev. Charles H. Colton, recently promoted to the See of Buffalo. The congregation of St. Stephen's Church in New York is nothing poorer to-day for having contributed that sum besides the current expenses incidental to conducting a large church and school. For the present, this is the only way out of the financial difficulty—the zeal of the clergy and the self-sacrifice of the people.

We seem to be as far as ever from getting our share of the public school funds for the support of our schools. The idea of unsectarian education has taken such deep root in the American mind that it is hard to uproot it. It has taken possession of a large number of our Catholics, and I fear that little is done to disabuse them. Catholic writers and speakers are too often afraid to express their whole mind on secular education. It is only with a profuse apology that some of them will venture to express their disapproval of our "glorious system." They regard it as an inseparable feature of the "system," that religion be excluded and relegated to Sunday schools. They are willing to be unjustly taxed rather than to appear disloyal to that scheme of education which they have foolishly learned to regard as American. They are satisfied to contribute their share of the \$250,000,000 that are

yearly spent on common schools, and besides to be mulcted \$25,000,000 yearly for the privilege of educating but one-half of their own children. If they protested, they fear they might be looked upon as rather indifferent Americans. "Voluntary bondmen!"

The case is plain and simple: If a contractor or corporation builds a national library in Washington for the United States, or a State Capitol in Albany for the State of New York, at an expense of \$25,000,000 they expect to be indemnified; but if Catholics supply \$25,000,000 worth of secular training to the nation or state, they have no case, in law or equity, for the sole reason that in addition to this, they happen to teach religion and morality in the most efficacious way. Yet, simple as the matter is, it will not penetrate the density of the public school fog which clouds the American mind. Until the true principles of education are made a part of the Christian doctrine (as they are in fact), until we educate a new generation of Catholics indoctrinated with these principles, there is little hope of our obtaining justice in the matter of education. Yet the problem has been successfully solved in other countries. Why should it prove insoluble to the resourceful American? Until it is solved, nothing but self-sacrifice can save us.

Still greater than the financial difficulty is that which arises from prejudice—the legitimate offspring of ignorance and pride. So much fulsome laudation has been lavished on our "glorious system" of unsectarian public schools, that even Catholics have been led to believe that they are the most perfect creation of human ingenuity—the most powerful factors of culture, refinement and morality; the necessities of enlightened citizenship, social progress and intellectual and political greatness; the

only framers of true American manhood and womanhood; that Catholic schools, on the contrary, are the remnants of a barbarous age, foreign, undemocratic, un-American, and, therefore, unfit to educate true American citizens. By dint of "damnable iteration," these notions have been deeply impressed on the minds of Americans. Barnum, the famous showman, who probably understood his countrymen better than any man of his time, used to say that "Americans liked to be humbugged." In no phase of public life does this weakness of the American come clearer to light than in the field of education.

Catholic schools and colleges, on the other hand, did very little to address themselves to the "gullibility" of the American public. They were believers in modest merit, an article which finds little appreciation with the Yankee, and the Yankeeizing portion of our community. Their beginning and their growth were modest, and were likely enough to impress the public with an idea of inefficiency, if indeed they were noticed at all.

Impressions, however, are rapidly changing. Many of our institutions are among the finest and best equipped in the country, and cannot fail to impress the public favorably, while it is sufficiently well known that, wherever our students are free to compete with those of the secular institutions, they show better training and greater ability. This superior training of our Catholic schools has been shown to evidence by the Catholic Educational Exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago some years ago; it has been demonstrated time and again by intercollegiate debates, by competitive examinations for the military and naval academies at West Point and Annapolis. A recent illustration was afforded last summer (1903) in New York City. While seventy-five per cent. of the children of Catholic schools who presented themselves at the exami-

nation for entrance into the Normal College passed, and many of them with honor, only twenty-five per cent. of the pupils of public schools were successful. These figures speak for themselves. Yet prejudice remains impenetrable as ever, and our children continue to go to secular and Protestant schools and colleges, for no other reason than the *aura popularis*.

At the same time there are numerous complaints raised against the public schools. The first is on the score of morality. The increase of crime goes hand in hand with the diffusion of secular education. It is a remarkable fact, some years ago proved to evidence from statistics by the late Hon. Zachary Montgomery, of California, that the volume of crime in the States has increased in the direct ratio of the amount of money spent on secular education. Various suggestions are made to remedy the evil. Some suggest the teaching of lay morality, which is a body without a soul; some find a panacea in the teaching of non-sectarian Christianity, which is not Christianity at all; others fall back on the Sunday school, which has been tried and found wanting. For us, of course, the only solution of the problem is denominational schools, but public denominational schools have been made unconstitutional in many of our States, though there is nothing in the United States Constitution to prevent denominational teaching in schools.

The second complaint is on the score of inefficiency. One of the greatest drawbacks in the public schools is too much pedagogy, too many fads, and too little attention to the staple subjects of an elementary education. Teachers, who have not, and cannot have, the slightest notion of philosophy, are obliged to study courses of psychology, violently transplanted from German philosophy, the commonest terms of which they do not understand,

and, to make bad worse, and "confusion worse confounded," they are permitted and encouraged to experiment on their poor victims with this crude foreign importation, which, bad at first hand, is worsened by American adulteration. This is adding educational malpractice to very questionable transcendental pedagogy. Moreover, the subjects are so multiplied by the loading on of nature studies, civics, physical culture, hygiene, alcoholics, narcotics, and what not, that the three R's are thrown into the background. The consequence is, as officially reported by a Senate committee in the District of Columbia, which, by the way, boasts of the most advanced methods, "a deplorable want of training in the grades the young people were supposed to have mastered. In history the general average (in those schools) was not much over fifty per cent. The penmanship was poor, and the spelling miserably bad." One of the Senators remarks: "The children of to-day have had very indifferent instruction. The teachers of to-day are victims of a bad system. The old-fashioned schools did much better work, in spite of the fact that the path of learning has been made smoother and many things have been simplified." This lamentable inefficiency of the public schools has been acknowledged with regret by no less an authority than President Eliot, of Harvard University, who declares that they "are not what they were fifty years ago."

It has also been proved beyond all doubt that our Catholic colleges (at least the standard ones) are superior in genuine scholarship to the great Protestant and secular universities. They require higher standards for admission and graduation. A student may be admitted to Harvard University or Columbia College to-day without any knowledge of Latin or Greek, and may then choose his own subjects for bachelor's degree with such discre-



tion as to relieve him almost entirely from any serious study, while the Catholic colleges almost universally insist on the study of the classical languages, and, in addition to Science and Literature, on a solid course of Philosophy.

We have, therefore, nothing to fear from competition. Our wrestling is with the prejudice—with ignorance and pride—of parents, with the indolence and license of youth, who will flock to those institutions where they will find a minimum of serious work and a maximum of self-indulgence. Our only means to break these barriers is intelligent, pacific, persistent and systematic agitation. We have all the necessary data to hand, and they are multiplying from day to day. It is a question of life or death to the Church in the United States. The salutary work of our schools, for the Church and State, is patent. Their efficiency cannot be questioned. The impotence of the secular system to train moral citizens is becoming every day more evident. It has been tried and egregiously found wanting. The injustice done to ten millions of Catholics, and perhaps half as many more of other denominations who are eager to have their children brought up in schools of their own persuasion, is too flagrant not to be acknowledged by the majority in the long run. The scheme of denominational schools is feasible. Succeed it must in the end, though it be after a long and laborious struggle. But, no cross, no crown.

REV. JAMES CONWAY, S.J.

## APPENDIX I

### Origin of Secular Education in the United States

Those who have read the above must have been struck with the intensely religious character of the early American Public School. What puzzles the historian is the sudden and radical revolution to secularism in less than a quarter of a century, we may say, roughly speaking, from 1850 to 1875.

The causes of this remarkable transformation of our educational system have been well stated by the Rev. Louis S. Walsh, Superintendent of Parochial Schools in Boston, in a masterly paper read at the Conference of Catholic Colleges in Philadelphia in 1903, and printed in the *American Catholic Quarterly*, in January, 1904. The movement was inaugurated in Massachusetts as early as 1825 by Horace Mann, a man of acknowledged ability and literary attainments, but deeply indoctrinated with European liberalism, a staunch convert to Unitarianism, and an unmitigated bigot and positive hater of the Catholic Church and its teaching and practices. In 1827, he secured a bill in the legislature of Massachusetts "making it unlawful to use the common school, or teach anything in the school, in order to proselyte the children to a belief in any particular sect." That meant, in other words, that the children of Massachusetts were to be educated as good Unitarians. He agitated this principle indefatigably, in season and out of season, for a quarter of a century, in public speeches and lectures, as Secretary of the State School Board of Massachusetts and as Congressman in Washington; and some say that he died a martyr of "our glorious system of non-sectarian common schools."

Yet education in Massachusetts continued to be denominational as before, in spite of the eloquence of Horace Mann and the enactments of the State Legislature. Nay, the feeling in favor of denominational education was so strong, that in 1835, the School Board authorized Catholic Schools with Catholic teachers, subject to the control of the Catholic Church, to be maintained at the public expense, which was actually done in the town of Lowell at that time. But as soon as the great influx of Irish Catholics began in 1848, the agitation waxed more fierce, with the avowed purpose of opposing the "common enemy," that is, the Irish immigrant, and robbing the children of the "foreigner" of their Catholic faith. The American secular Public School is the offspring of that same spirit that brought about the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown on the night of August 11, 1834.

In 1855 a Constitutional amendment was passed, making it unconstitutional in the State of Massachusetts to appropriate public moneys "to any religious sect for the maintenance exclusively of its own schools." This was the last blow to denominational schools in the United States, the triumph of secularism over religious education. Such is the birth and growth and pedigree of our "Glorious Public School System." It was conceived in the diseased brain of a fanatic Unitarian, born of hysterical know-nothingism, nurtured in narrow-minded bigotry, and a doleful spectre it now stalks over the land, bearing with it the cheerless gospel of intellectual, moral and religious starvation.

## APPENDIX II

The following propositions on the freedom of education, written some years ago for the guidance of those who were opposing an obnoxious education bill, introduced in the Legislature of the State of New York, may be found of some value in connection with the above. As similar bills are annually proposed in the Legislature of this State, it is well to keep these principles fresh in our memory.

### I. THE CHILD.

Every child has the right to what is regarded by common consent an elementary, physical, mental and moral (including religious) education.

The corresponding duty of educating the child devolves first on the parent, secondly on the next in kin; in their default, on private charity first, then on the municipality, and on the State in the last instance.

In all cases the reasonable wishes of the parent (guardian) or next in kin must be consulted and respected, as these represent the rights of the child, who has no other means of asserting his rights.

Hence, the State, municipality and private charitable organizations, though they should laudably aid, facilitate, supply means of education, may not in any way infringe on parental rights, but are bound to carry out the reasonable wishes of parents or guardians.

When the parent (natural guardian) surrenders a child for education by the State, private corporation, or other physical or moral person, he cannot thereby waive the right of requiring of such a person the proper moral and religious training of the child, as this right is inalienable and the corresponding duty is imperative on him at all times and under all circumstances.

## II. THE PARENT.

From the ever imperative duty or responsibility arising from generation and from the positive Divine law, follows the inalienable right of the parent effectively to control the education of his own child to the exclusion of all interference from without.

This right may be suspended or forfeited or curtailed only by incapacity or criminal and notorious neglect, and even then the reasonable wishes of the parent, as interpreted by himself or his representative, should be respected.

Parents who are notably and notoriously incapable (*e.g.*, habitual drunkards) or neglectful in the fulfilment of the duty of education should be compelled by law to give their children the necessary elementary education, *i.e.*, to send them to some reputable school for a certain length of time, but the school is to be left to their own choosing.

In enforcing compulsory education, care must be had to avoid unnecessary vexation and the invasion of the domestic rights. No action should be taken except in the case of manifest truancy or vagrancy, or flagrant neglect. No investigation should be made without a legal warrant, which warrant should not be given except on the strongest suspicion of criminal neglect. Compulsion should be restricted to the bare essentials of an elementary education, *i.e.*, reading, writing and reckoning, not extending to ornamental branches, *e.g.*, physiology, calisthenics, etc.

In cases of commitment for truancy, the rights of the child and parent as above described should be safeguarded.

## III. PRIVATE CORPORATIONS.

Any person (whether physical or moral) of good character and of good standing in the community, as he has

the right to communicate what he knows by word of mouth or through the press, has the right to teach those who submit themselves, or are lawfully submitted, to his instruction, has also the right to open schools and conduct them on his own conditions as long as they do not conflict with the just laws of the State or ordinances of the city. Hence freedom of education is as natural as freedom of speech or freedom of the press.

If, however, such person (or corporate body) wishes to secure financial aid or other advantage (say the right of conferring degrees) from the State or municipality, it is natural that he should be required to submit to the reasonable demands of the same. But in no other case should he be interfered with as long as there are no grounds of suspicion against his moral character or the conduct of his school; nay, he should be protected by the law and favored as a benefactor of his kind.

On this principle of freedom of education are based the rights of private schools, colleges and universities. If they are State-aided they should do that work for which they are so aided, whatever they may purpose to do besides. If they are chartered by the State to confer degrees they should comply with the just requirements of the State, as far as scholarship is concerned, but no farther. What their material resources may be, for instance, what their religious persuasion, how their teachers are paid, etc., etc., is a matter of indifference to the State.

In cases of chartered institutions the State has the right to see that the provisions of the charter are carried out. In case of subsidized institutions the State has the right of examination to assure itself that the work paid for is efficiently done.

In no other case has the State any right to meddle with private educational institutions, unless at the solicitation

of those concerned, or in case of legal denunciation, or for sanitary inspection, etc., etc.—but not *qua* school.

It is unjust to subject private schools to the vexation of making any further statistical returns to the State than those that are required by the general laws on statistics, for the simple reason that they are not paid for doing such work for the State.

It is needless to add that according to the prevalent idea (whether right or wrong) which has obtained among us, that the State owes an education at the public expense to every child within its confines, that every private school which gives that instruction which is required by the State, and consequently does State work, is entitled to a just compensation from the State for such service rendered the State. This suggestion, I suppose, will not be considered, but it should be brought home to our law-makers and executive in season and out of season.

What we are to think of inspection or examination, compulsory text-books, courses of study, methods, etc., without compensation or without spontaneous invitation on our part, in individual cases, may be sufficiently gathered from the preceding paragraphs.

#### IV. THE STATE.

From the foregoing it is evident that the State is not the educator of its citizens, but the parents, and those to whom parents collectively or individually confide this work.

As it is the object of the State to promote the temporal welfare of its citizens, and as this cannot in our day be done without the instrumentality of education, it is both the right and the duty of the State to encourage, to promote, to facilitate the work of education, so as to bring at least an elementary education within the reach of all.

Hence the first duty of the State in regard to education

should be to promote and protect private enterprise, as in commerce, industry, etc., without attempting to monopolize it.

When and wherever necessary the State may also build and equip its own schools, which it has also the right to direct and control, always, however, consulting the reasonable wishes of parents as expressed by intelligent representation, and bearing in mind that in this department it has only the power of carrying out the collective wishes of parents.

All objections to monopolies and trusts in industry and trade are equally applicable to education. Hence it is the business of the State carefully to avoid every semblance of monopoly and to protect the weak against the strong, giving equal facilities and encouragement to all educational institutions.

As, according to the American State idea, all power comes through the people, and those in whom this power is vested are only the representatives and vice-gerents of the people, it ought to be the peculiar educational policy of the American State to afford a maximum of protection to individual, domestic and corporate rights, with a minimum of restriction or curtailment of the freedom of individuals, families and private corporations.

While the State has the fullest control compatible with parental and individual rights to manage its own school, it has no right to interfere in the management of private schools which are not State-aided, further than to examine and enforce sanitary conditions, etc., or in answer to legal complaint, as in any other private institutions.

The State has no right to examine into or control or dispose of the temporalities of a private school, college, or academy, more than those of any family or other private corporation within its confines. Should difficulties arise, they are to be settled in the court like all similar cases in which the rights of property are involved.



# **The Bishop of Limerick**

and

## **Mr. W. S. Lilly**

[A CORRESPONDENCE.]

THE following further letters which have passed between the Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly on the question of the lawfulness of the assassination of usurpers have been sent to us for publication:

LIMERICK, July 12, 1904.

Dear Sir:—My second objection to your article relates to the following sentence:

“And it is quite clear from the account of him (Pius V.) given by the Bollandists that he meditated her (*i.e.* Elizabeth's) assassination.”

That is a very definite statement, the accuracy of which can easily be tested. It means that in the life of St. Pius V. written by the Bollandists, it is made quite clear that he meditated the assassination of Elizabeth. You do not make any reference to extrinsic evidence; you do not say that words occur in the Bollandists which are consistent with the theory of St. Pius' intention to have the Queen assassinated, nor that it might form a link in a chain of evidence by which, like Lord Acton, one might make the edifying claim of having brought home this charge against a canonized saint. You go farther. You state that the Bollandists make the case clear.

I have read the life of St. Pius, as written by the Bollandists, and you will permit me to say that they do nothing of the kind. I can find nothing whatsoever in their life of the Saint that even remotely suggests such a view as yours, except the one sentence which you quote in a footnote. May I ask, Do you think that that sentence makes it clear that, in their opinion, St. Pius meditated the assassination of Elizabeth?

The Bollandists say that "*cogitabat eam de medio tollere.*" If you rely on these words, then you have to show that the phrase "*eam de medio tollere.*" meant, and could only mean, to kill; and furthermore, that it necessarily meant to kill by assassination; and this, I venture to think, you will hardly succeed in doing.

The phrase itself, "*aliquem de medio tollere,*" is found in classical and ecclesiastical authors. It means simply "to get rid of," "to put out of the way," but by itself it does not determine how that is to be done. There is no need for quoting many authorities. Any Latin dictionary will give the information. For form's sake I take the following from Scheller's *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis*, under the word "Medius:" "*tollere hominem de medio*"—"to put out of the way, whether by death or otherwise."

The phrase may mean to remove by killing, but it is equally open to a less evil interpretation. In what precise sense you are to take it, in any given instance, must be determined by the context. In this case, the capture of Elizabeth, her dethronement, and the overthrow of her Government, would satisfy all the requirements of the phrase "*eam de medio tollere,*" just as well as to kill. May I not then ask, Why do you assert that it must have this latter meaning, and more, that it must mean to kill in one particular way—by the revolting way of as-

sassination? In the phrase itself there is absolutely nothing to connote this idea. Where do you get your authority for asserting that it necessarily does so?

If you will have the goodness to turn back a little in the Bollandist life of St. Pius to Lib. III., Cap. III., n. 168, you will find this self-same phrase applied to the political machinations by which Queen Elizabeth hoped to get rid of Mary, Queen of Scots, and in this case it is pretty plain that there was no suggestion of assassination. "*Concitabat has turbas Elizabeth Anglorum impia regina, perduellumque in primis studia fovebat tum ut hæreticorum factionem et ipsa hæretica sustineret tum etiam ut Mariam utpote regni æmulam et heredem, e medio tolleret.*"

Here it is plain that in the mind of the Bollandists the means that Elizabeth used in order to get rid of Mary were public disturbances and rebellion, and there is nothing to suggest the idea of assassination. When the same writers use the same phrase "*e medio tollere*" a few pages further on, it is not easy to see why it must necessarily imply this very idea unless it is because it is used to describe the intentions of a Pope who is a canonized saint as regards an heretical Sovereign.

If, as I submit, the phrase itself "*e medio tollere*" does not connote one way rather than another of getting rid of a person, then what way is contemplated can be gathered only from the context in which it is used. Apply this principle here and you will not find one sentence, one word, one hint or suggestion, however faint, in the whole account of St. Pius V. given by the Bollandists, that would suggest that the idea of the assassination ever came into their minds, or that they contemplated any acts but those of war as the way in which he intended "*eam de medio tollere.*"

If you think that there is a single passage in their account of St. Pius that lends even the faintest color to your suggestion, it would be well to quote it.

The whole context implies a totally different sense. They proceed to make good their statement that the Pope "*cogitabat eam de medio tollere*," and just consider their description of his activities. They mention that he sent an agent to organize the Catholics of England for the overthrow of Elizabeth; he supplied funds for the rebellion of which the Protestant Duke of Norfolk was to be the head; he helped the Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; he tried to induce the Kings of France and Spain to declare war against the Queen. All these are minutely described, and used as evidence of the zeal with which the Pope endeavored to free the Catholics of England from the yoke of Elizabeth, and "*eam de medio tollere*." What is in them to suggest assassination? Are they not public and political agencies? They may have been right or wrong, judicious or injudicious; but they were very effectual of their nature, as a means of getting rid of Elizabeth. They exhaust the whole account given by the Bollandists of the means by which St. Pius V. "*cogitabat eam de medio tollere*," and I submit they define in this context the meaning of the phrase.

I know very well Lord Acton's elaborate attack on the character of St. Pius whom he had the decency to call a murderer. But this charge of yours is much more direct, and, if sustained, would be much more damaging. It is one thing to piece together various scraps of evidence, gathered in Rome and Madrid and Brussels, and out of an ingenious mosaic to make a case against the Pope. It is quite another to allege that Catholic historians of the authority of the Bollandists made it clear

that the Pope meditated the very crime, in its worst form, that was ever charged against him.

For this reason your statement is most important, and is such that it must be either supported by evidence or withdrawn.

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours in Christ,

E. T., Bishop of Limerick.

To W. S. Lilly, Esq.,

DIBBLES, WEST CLANDON, GUILDFORD, July 8, 1904.

My Dear Lord:—I will not proceed to reply to your most interesting letter of the 12th inst.: and as I am snatching a brief and somewhat hardly-earned holiday, your lordship will, I am sure, pardon me if I say that, so far as I am concerned, our present correspondence must end here.

I observe, first, that the usual and generally accepted meaning of the phrase "*de medio tollere*" unquestionably is to make away with, *i.e.*, to kill. Cicero uses it in this sense, and, unless my memory is at fault (which I do not think), in no other. I may say the same of Livy's "*e medio tollere*." I am not acquainted with Scheller's work cited in your letter under reply. The only Latin lexicons available to me here are Facciolati's and Forcellini's, both—so accomplished a scholar as your lordship does not need to be told this—authorities of the highest order. Facciolati says: "*aliquem de medio tollere: hoc est evertere, exterminare, occidere*." Forcellini says: "*tollere aliquem est vita privare*." The presumption seems to me to be that the Bollandists used the phrase in this, the ordinary sense. It is, of course, a rebuttable presumption. But your lordship must pardon me if I say that, in my poor judgment, you do not seem to have rebutted it. Taking the statement of the Bollandists "*cogitabat eam de medio tollere*"

and looking at it in the light of the history of the times, with which I chance to be somewhat intimately acquainted, I do not think that the word used by me in *The Fortnightly Review*, to which your lordship objects, is in itself unwarranted. But since it has given offence to the pious ears of your lordship, I will certainly withdraw it. I will substitute for it the old English expression "to take off," which is the exact equivalent of "*de medio tollere*" and which, though somewhat antiquated, is still familiar to us, through the well-known verse: "The deep damnation of his taking off." The sentence will then run: "It is quite clear from the account of him given by the Bollandists that he meditated her 'taking off,'" and will, I trust, so amended, be entirely satisfactory to your lordship.

I am, my dear lord, very sincerely yours,

W. S. LILLY.

P.S.—I should add that I am quite unacquainted with the work of my lamented friend Lord Acton, referred to in your letter under reply; but that, from what I know of his mind on the subject with which it deals, I think I may safely say I should not assent to the view therein set forth by him.

To the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

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LIMERICK, August 1, 1904.

Dear Sir:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 28th ult. As you naturally do not wish to have your well-earned holidays interrupted by a controversy of this kind, I shall say my last word on the point at issue in this letter.

In the first place, I have to express my satisfaction at having elicited your letter, as in my opinion it demon-

strates the utter absence of any rational grounds for the shocking charge which you made so dogmatically in your article in *The Fortnightly Review* against St. Pius V. There your assertion was that it was *quite clear*, from the Bollandist account, that Pius V. meditated the *assassination* of Elizabeth. Now at the very first touch of criticism, what was *quite clear* becomes a mere "presumption," and even "a rebuttable presumption." May I presume to remark that this facile shifting of your ground does not suggest a full and exhaustive study of your case before you committed yourself to so serious a position.

Then the process of reasoning by which you settle for yourself the meaning of the phrase under discussion is rather curious. I give you the authority of a great lexicographer, and you seem to think that, however strongly it makes against you, it is displaced by the simple statement that you are unacquainted with his work. Then you proceed to quote "authorities of the highest order," on the other side, one of them being Facciolati, edited by your other authority, Forcellini. Certainly authorities of a high order, but do you not see that they knock your case on the head, and confirm mine absolutely? "Facciolati," you write, "says '*aliquem e medio tollere, hoc est evertere, exterminare, occidere.*'" Surely you do not think that "*evertere*" means to assassinate, or that the last of the three meanings which he gives for the word is the sense in which it is usually employed to the exclusion of the other two.

You will have Smith's *Latin Dictionary* at hand everywhere. If you refer to it you will find he is at one with Scheller, and Facciolati, and, indeed; all the authorities, that the phrase in question is by itself indeterminate as to the way in which one is to be got rid of; and I venture

to think that as to classic usage they may be set over and against your scholarship.

It is interesting also to note that Facciolati quotes the very authors, Cicero and Livy, to whom you refer: but in each case the precise sense in which the phrase in dispute is used is made clear only by the context, whereas your theory is that usage has so determined the meaning of the phrase, that by itself, and independently of its context, it is fixed to one sense.

It is interesting to observe that you have nothing to say to the evidence which I submitted to you as to the sense in which the Bollandists themselves use this same phrase, in another part of the account of St. Pius which we are discussing. This is crucial evidence, yet you pass it over in silence. So, too, you simply say nothing as to the light which the whole context in which the phrase occurs sheds most luminously on the sense in which it is used. Then, on the other hand, your reference to the light which you think that the history of the times throws on the words of the Bollandists is another shifting of your ground. Your original statement was that the account of the Bollandists in itself made the thing quite clear. Now it is that account looked at in the light of your special knowledge of the history of the times. May I say, without offence, that if the information at your command is of a piece with your reference to Suarez and the Bollandists, it is no wonder you have arrived at unsatisfactory conclusions?

Your undertaking to substitute "taking off" for "assassinate" with a quotation that makes it plain that you mean the same thing, simply indicates your inability to defend your statement, yet your anxiety to maintain the poison of it. In my humble judgment it would be much better if you simply withdrew your statement, and



admitted that you made it on insufficient knowledge and without full consideration.

But if you will adhere to it in some modified form, why go to Shakespeare for the phrase which he uses to describe one of the most abominable assassinations in all literature? Why not keep to your lexicographers "of the highest order," Facciolati and Forcellini, and with them write: "It is quite clear from the account of him given by the Bollandists that he meditated her overthrow (*evertere*)?"

You have no right to read into your text a special meaning which it does not carry of itself. No doubt an historical writer's first duty is to truth, but loyalty to truth will teach him that if he must not extenuate anything, neither must he set down aught in malice. Before venturing to brand any man, but above all the Vicar of Christ, who is a canonized Saint, with the infamy of a revolting crime he will feel bound anxiously and exhaustively to sift his evidence, and not to allow his words by one hair's breadth to exceed his proofs.

It is for you to consider whether in your exposition, for the benefit of the readers of *The Fortnightly Review*, of Catholic practice, and the teachings of Catholic Theologians, you have acted in the spirit of this rule. To me it seems pretty evident that you have but a very slight and imperfect acquaintance with Suarez, and that you had not, when you wrote, weighed the words of the Bollandists either in themselves or in their context, and yet that on this insufficient study of the case you committed yourself to most grave and important statements.

From some expressions in your last letter I gather that in the course of these discussions I must have written something to give you offence. I assure you that nothing could be farther from my intention, but I freely avow

that I did consider your statements in *The Fortnightly Review* as very bad, and now that I have read your defence of them I am utterly at a loss to understand how you could ever have made them.

I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours in Christ,

E. T., Bishop of Limerick.

To W. S. Lilly, Esq.

P. S.—I am sending this to *The Tablet*.

### **The Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly.**

[A CORRESPONDENCE.]

The two following letters complete the correspondence which we have already published:

#### I

2, McDonnell Terrace, KILKEE, August 4, 1904.

Sir:—The Bishop of Limerick desires me to say to you that in the copy of his letter sent to *The Tablet* he inserted the following sentence:

"It is interesting also to note that Facciolati quotes the very authors, Cicero and Livy, to whom you refer; but in each case the precise sense in which the phrase in dispute is used is made clear only by the context, whereas your theory is that usage has so determined the meaning of the phrase that, by itself, and independently of its context, it is fixed to one sense."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ANDREW MURPHY, Secretary.

W. S. Lilly, Esq.

## II.

DIBBLES, WEST CLANDON, SURREY, August 8, 1904.

My dear Lord:—I am in the receipt of a communication from your secretary in which you acquaint me that before sending to *The Tablet* newspaper a copy of your letter to me, dated the 1st inst., you inserted in it a sentence attributing to me the following "theory:"

"Usage has so determined the meaning of the phrase [*de medio tollere*'] that, by itself and independently of its context, it is fixed to one sense."

Your lordship must allow me to say, plainly, that I have never advanced the "theory" which you then ascribe to me, and that I do not hold it.

What I do hold is—to quote my own words from my letter to you of the 28th inst.—that "the phrase '*de medio tollere*' is to make away with, *i.e.*, to kill," and no competent scholar, I am sure, will question that I am right in so holding.

I am no more responsible for the ridiculous "theory" which your lordship thus imputes to me than I am for the equally ridiculous syllogism manufactured by you and assigned to me in your letter of the 13th ult. And although I have no intention of continuing this correspondence, I think it right to express my great astonishment and my greater regret, that your lordship should resort to such a method of controversy.

Anything further which I may think it my duty to say regarding the points at issue between us I shall say, with the permission of the editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, in the pages of that magazine.

I am, my dear Lord, very truly yours,

W. S. LILLY.

To the Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick.

**The Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly.**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TABLET.

Sir:—I hope I shall not be thought out of order if I beg leave to add a few words upon some points which were incidentally brought up in the correspondence between the Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly, even though that correspondence is closed. The matters I refer to are questions of fact, as to which your readers will perhaps like to know the historical evidence.

The first question I have in mind has arisen thus: Mr. Lilly, in an otherwise very valuable and interesting article in *The Fortnightly Review* for June, expressed his belief that a certain phrase in Gabutio's *Life of St. Pius V.* showed that that Pontiff during Ridolfi's plot "meditated the assassination" of Queen Elizabeth, and the Bishop of Limerick has conclusively shown that the passage quoted could not bear any such meaning.

But what of the original evidence? An inquiry into it will be attended with a double advantage. It will bring before us the final confirmation of his lordship's contention, and will show the origin of that erroneous opinion which caused the wrong meaning to be attached to Gabutio's words.

The conspiracy, then, which goes by the name of Ridolfi was formed, not to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, but to upset her government and to place Mary Stuart on the throne; and this was the subject of all Ridolfi's communications with Pope Pius. We can be sure of this because we have their confidential correspondence, some of which has been printed, while the rest is open to public inspection in the Vatican Archives and also in our Record Office, to which full transcripts have been sent by Mr. Bliss.

Gabutio (who by the way was a Barnabite, and is only reprinted by the Bollandists) wrote his history from the Vatican Papers in the sixteenth century, and hence we see why his book does not mention, and should not be expected to allude to any plan for Elizabeth's death.

But Ridolfi, after communicating with St. Pius at Rome, went on to Madrid, and there, sad to say, it would seem that the assassination of the Queen of England was discussed, as a possible alternative to the overthrow of her rule. Though it was not Ridolfi who mooted the matter, and though the Spanish Council did not decide in favor of the proposal, we cannot but be ashamed of our co-religionists on this occasion, and those who either are not aware of how rough the times were, or do not allow for Elizabeth's injuries to Spain, will perhaps be much shocked.

Many were shocked at the paper concerning the Spanish Council, to which I have just alluded, when that document was published early in the last century. As the Vatican papers, which, as we have seen, are necessary for the just appreciation of the Spanish document, were not yet open to the public, this exaggeration can hardly be wondered at. All Ridolfi's doings fell under suspicion. Misgivings were felt about Pope Pius himself, (and it is still to be wished that our documents spoke more clearly in his defence). A sinister meaning was attached to Gabutio's ambiguous phrase "*tollere eam de medio*," though in reality his words bore an innocent meaning.

It would be impossible to enumerate here the authorities on which this short summary of the facts is based. A reference, however, may be allowed to an article in *The Month* for February, 1902, where those authorities are quoted and discussed, and also to articles in the numbers for June and July following, and for April, 1904,

where subsequent plots against Elizabeth (except those of her last decade) are fully described.

From these papers I draw some further conclusions which are very pertinent to the matters that have been under debate. Most of them are favorable to the Catholics, but there are exceptions. To say nothing of the rash words or the empty threats of irresponsible swash-bucklers and wind-bags, we do find that some really leading Catholics and Papal representatives, occasionally, though only very rarely, behaved in a way that cannot be defended. Instead of denouncing plans to assassinate Elizabeth which came under their notice, they bore themselves neutrally towards them, and that to a degree which almost amounted to toleration. This conduct must be severely blamed, but it must at the same time be remembered that it only occurred three or four times, and then under vexatious circumstances, which much mitigate the offence. The toleration was also indirect. No active assistance or general approbation of the principle of tyrannicide, was ever offered.

All this being fully admitted, it nevertheless remains true that,

1. There is no evidence to show that Catholics, as a body, believed Elizabeth might be assassinated.
2. There is no evidence to show that any Catholic in particular ever contemplated the assassination of Elizabeth simply or even primarily because of her excommunication.
3. Though there are some undoubted instances of Catholic plots against Elizabeth's life, they are very few, perhaps four or five in all, and most even of these were not hatched without the co-operation of Elizabeth's own *agents provocateurs*. It was also these wretches who tricked the Pope's representatives into those lax admissions which we have already condemned.

It is important for all of us to keep these facts in view, and I feel sure that by taking them into account Mr. Lilly will in reality much strengthen the main argument of his *Fortnightly* article.

Very sincerely yours,

31 Farm Street, London, W.

J. H. POLLEN, S.J.

### **The Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly.**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TABLET.

Sir:—Mr. Lilly's last communication to you shows that he still believes that the words "*tollere de medio*" signify assassination, when used by Gabutio in his account of St. Pius's intentions towards Queen Elizabeth. It will therefore be well to inquire further into the origin of the phrase. Gabutio translated it from the earlier Italian biographer Catena, and the meaning of Catena's words is free from any possible ambiguity. He wrote (*Vita del glorioso Papa Pio V.*, Mantua, 1587, p. 75):

"Ora pensando Pio da una parte di soccorer la Reina di Scotia et liberarla (la quale ne carcere, ne catene, ne minaccie di tormenti, ne promesse di premii la fecero mai variar dalla fede cattolica, ne dall' ubbedienza della santa sede) dall' altra di restituir la religione in Inghilterra, et di levare a un tempo la sentina di tanti mali (nodrendo Elizabetta, etc., dissensione, etc.) deputo alcuni huomini, etc., che scrivessero, etc."

Gabutio translated faithfully:

"(Interim Pius Pontifex) ex una quidem parte Scotorum reginæ opem ferre eamque omnino liberare [cum nullo aut squallore carceris, aut cruciatuum terrore, aut denique blanditiis de firmissimo colendæ Catholicæ religionis proposito obedientiaque sacrosanctæ Sedi Apostolicæ præstanda dimoveri potuisset] ex altera vero lapsam in Anglia religionem renovare cogitabat, simul et

illam malorum omnium sentinam, seu, ut appellabat ipse flagitiorum servam, de medio tollere, si minus posset ad sanitatem revocari. Fovebat enim suis Elisabetha studii Christianorum dissidia, etc. Quare Pius nonnullis viris in Anglia mandavit, etc., ut cuncta scriberent ad se, etc.”<sup>1</sup>

A literal translation of the Italian will also give us the meaning of the Latin.

“Now Pius—thinking on the one hand to succor and set free the Queen of Scotland (whom neither prisons, nor bonds, nor threats of torment, nor promises of reward could ever cause to swerve from the Catholic faith and the obedience of the Holy See), and, on the other hand, to restore religion in England, and at the same time to remove the cess-pool of so many evils, (for Elizabeth nourished dissensions, etc.)—deputed certain persons to write to him, etc.”<sup>2</sup>

The conclusions to be drawn from the above texts are obvious. The clause “*illam malorum omnium sentinam de medio tollere*” is nothing more than the Latin equivalent for the Italian “*levare la sentina di tanti mali*,” and these words signify precisely “to remove the cess-pool of so many evils.” The phrase may be in bad taste, but it cannot possibly convey the notion of assassination. One cannot conceive the idea of murdering a cess-pool.

Thus whilst it was possible, by forcibly dissociating the Latin words “*illam de medio tollere*” from their context, to say that they meant assassination, even this is excluded by recourse to the Italian origin. And there are no other words to signify killing in the whole chapter.

Stonyhurst College, August 14. J. H. POLLEN, S.J.

<sup>1</sup> Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, iv. Maii, ed. 1680, vol. xiii., pp. 657, 658; ed. 1866, p. 661. The sentence in square brackets was transferred by Gabutio to the previous paragraph, Sec. 169. For convenience of comparison, however, it is here restored to the position in which Catena first placed it.

<sup>2</sup> Gabutio inserts, after “cess-pool of so many evils,” the words “or as he used to call her ‘the servant of sins,’ unless she could be recalled to health (of soul).”



Sir:—Mr. Lilly has invoked the authority of the Bollandists for his startling statement that Saint Pius V. meditated the assassination of Queen Elizabeth. Any doubt as to the meaning of his original statement is removed by his reply to the Bishop of Limerick, dated July 28, wherein he says “*the Bollandists* used the phrase, etc. ;” and again “taking the statement of *the Bollandists*, etc.” Now “the Bollandists” have never written a life of the Saint, nor have they ever pronounced any opinion on this subject. The editor of the section “Pius V.”—the great Henschenius—has simply reproduced, with a brief critical introduction, the well-known Life by the Barnabite, Antonius Gabutius, a work which was highly commended by Pope Clement VIII. It is Gabutius alone whom Mr. Lilly has quoted, and not, as the unwary might think, a great Bollandist whose name stands high for soundness of method, critical insight, and disinterested love of truth. Mr. Lilly’s sentence should therefore have run :

“And it is quite clear from the account of him (Saint Pius) given by Gabutius that he meditated her (Elizabeth’s) assassination.”

But whither would he lead us with so extravagant an assertion? If he be in the right then let the Saint’s body be taken out of its shrine at Saint Mary Major’s and cast into the Tiber; let his Office be torn from the Missal and Breviary and trampled under foot; never again let a candle be lit in his honor upon any of our altars; let that Catholic be anathema who should ever again dare to invoke his intercession. Does not Mr. Lilly see that all this must logically follow from the grave criminal charge which he has brought with such airy *insouciance* against a venerated Saint of the Church whose cause was sub-

jected to one hundred and fifty years' searching inquiry before he was fully canonized?

The Bishop of Limerick's moderate though emphatic protest against this insidious attempt to traduce the character of a Saint will earn for him the deep gratitude of all Catholics. His lordship's argument is scholarly, crushing, complete; it needs no reinforcement. If I venture to write to you now it is but to protest, with equal moderation but no less emphasis, against the error which would make one of the soundest critical historians of his day responsible for the statement that Saint Pius had advocated assassination. If Mr. Lilly will not withdraw the assertion that the Saint meditated the assassination of Queen Elizabeth; may we not hope that he will at least withdraw—and in the pages of *The Fortnightly*—his assertion that that statement was made by one of the greatest of the authoritative Bollandists?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

MONTGOMERY CARMICHAEL.

Leghorn, Feast of Saint Clare.

Sir:—I find that paragraph four of my letter of the 8th inst. to the Bishop of Limerick, printed in your last issue, is rendered unintelligible by an unfortunate omission, for which I am probably responsible, and which I desire to rectify. The paragraph should run:

"What I do hold is—to quote my own words from my letter to you of the 28th ult.—that *the usual and generally accepted meaning of the phrase 'de medio tollere'* is to make away with, *i.e.*, to kill."

In your columns the nine words which I have put in italics have disappeared.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

W. S. LILLY.

Dibbles, West Clandon, Surrey, August 15.

**The Bishop of Limerick and Mr. W. S. Lilly.**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

SIR:—In an article which I contributed to the June number of this Review, I had occasion to consider the argument in support of Shakespeare's Protestantism derived from the language about tyrannicide put by him into the mouth of the legate Pandulph. I contended that the argument was bad, because "the lawfulness of tyrannicide although assuredly no doctrine of the Catholic Church, has been maintained by Catholic divines of great name and authority," Suarez being among them, "as a corollary to the doctrine of the deposing power." I further remarked, "it is clear from the account of St. Pius V, given by the Bollandists, that he meditated the assassination of Queen Elizabeth."

These statements of mine have elicited criticisms to which I have given my best consideration. I venture to think that whatever my faults and defects as a writer—and no one can be more conscious of them than I am—I may, at all events, claim for myself an abiding desire to speak the truth, and an unfailing readiness to correct mistakes into which imperfect knowledge or errant judgment may have betrayed me. I am quite willing, nay, I am most desirous, to rectify anything which requires rectification in my statements regarding Suarez and St. Pius V. I shall proceed to reconsider them.

First, then, as to Suarez. It is laid down by him, in a well-known passage of his *Disputatio de Bello*, that there is one kind of tyrant who, in his judgment, may be lawfully slain by a private individual, viz., an unlawful usurper, under conditions which will be mentioned hereafter. It was held by some Catholics, and the view was acted upon, as the celebrated royal murders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sufficiently show, that a

prince deposed by the Pope was in the like case with an unlawful usurper. But Suarez, in his *Defensio Fidei*, distinguishes. A sovereign so deposed, he teaches, may not be slain by a private individual *statim* (out of hand, we may translate), or unless this was specifically provided for in the sentence, or another sentence, or command to that effect should be given: (*donec ei præcipiatur vel generalis commissio hæc in ipsa sententia, vel jure declaratur.*)

I remark in passing that history does not proceed by syllogism, and makes small account of casuistry. In those turbulent and savage times, qualifications such as *non statim* and *donec ei præcipiatur*, dictated doubtless by the best intentions, were little regarded in practice. My present concern is, however, with Suarez's actual teaching. He is a voluminous writer, and I do not profess to have given to him my days and my nights—they have been otherwise occupied; but I believe my account of his position regarding tyrannicide is substantially correct. It seems vouched for by Cardinal Hergenröther, a writer whose candor was on the same high level with his erudition. A sharp controversialist he was, indeed, but ever mindful of the obligations both of charity and courtesy; incapable alike of misrepresenting the argument of an opponent and of meeting it with invective. In his well-known work, *Die kathol. Kirche und der christl. Staat*, he writes as follows. (I must refer my readers to his own pages for the learned Notes by which he supports what he advances.)

"Suarez distinguishes strictly between an unlawful usurper and a legitimate but tyrannical ruler. The former may be removed, he says, by force, either by the whole nation, or by individual members, whenever the

conditions of a just warfare are present, when no other means exist for being rid of him, and when the consequences of his death will not be worse than the tyranny itself. . . . But Suarez also teaches that a legitimate prince, how great soever his tyranny, must never be assassinated by a private individual; only the body and commonwealth of the nation, under the conditions of a just warfare, and in self-preservation, might revolt against the tyrant. . . . It has been particularly objected to Suarez that he assumes that a legitimate ruler, who has been lawfully deposed, is to be treated as an illegitimate usurper; because having been rightly deposed he has ceased to be a legitimate ruler. . . . It is a question whether the aforesaid assumption can be made; but if it is made, Suarez is quite consistent. For the rest he teaches that all action in this matter should be gradual; that a deposed king may not at once be killed by any private person or forcibly expelled, unless this was specifically declared in the sentence, or another sentence or command were issued to that effect."

And now as to St. Pius V. The Bollandists give us Gabutio's *Life* of that Pontiff, in the course of which occurs the statement quoted by me in my article: "*Cogitabat illam [sc. Elizabetham] de medio tollere.*" I observe upon this statement that the ordinary and generally accepted sense of "*de medio tollere*" unquestionably is to make away with, *i.e.*, to kill. Facciolati gives as the equivalents of the phrase the three words "*evertere*," "*exterminare*," "*occidere*"; and St. Pius V. must have been well aware that if his designs against Elizabeth had succeeded she would, in all probability, have experienced all the catastrophes indicated by those verbs. This by the way. My point is that a writer who chooses the phrase "*de me-*

*dio tollere*" may be presumed to employ it in its ordinary sense unless there is reason for thinking otherwise. This is, of course, to use a legal term, a rebuttable presumption. Is there, in the case before us, evidence which rebuts it?

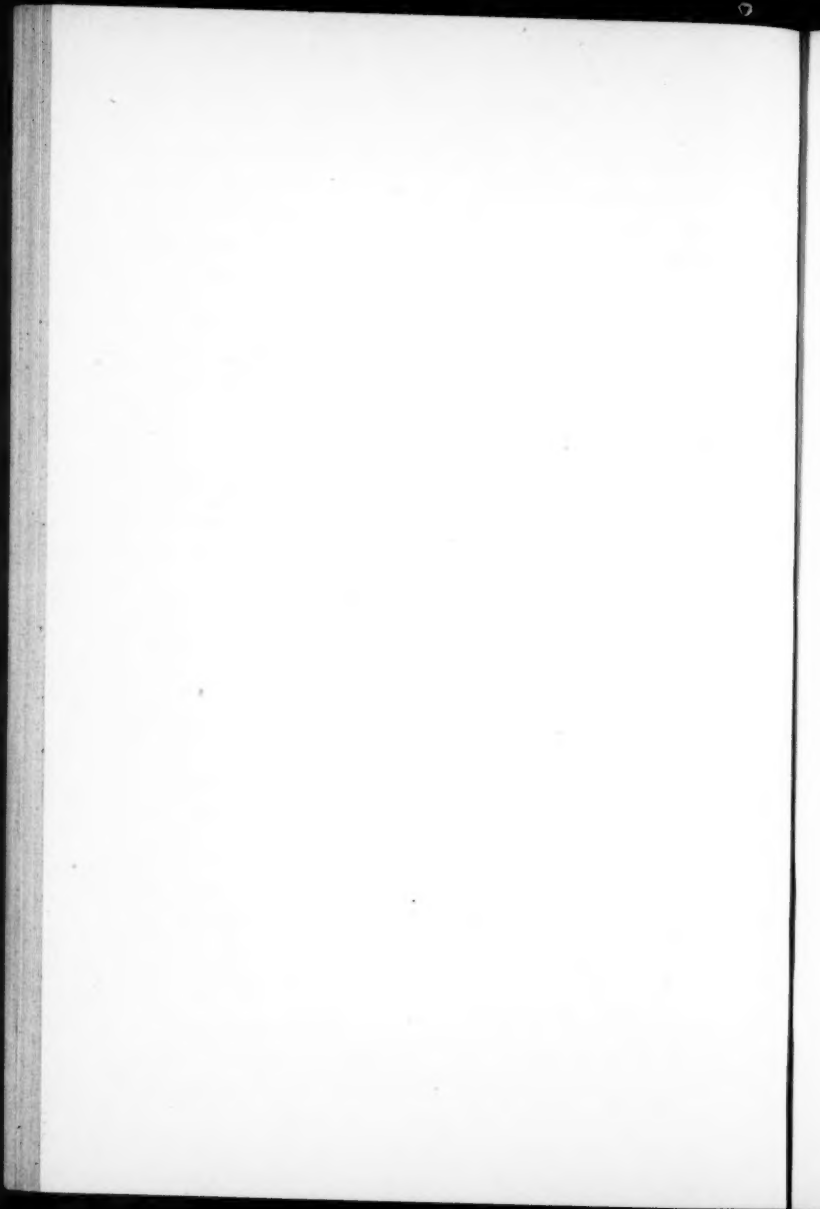
Since I wrote my article for the June number of this Review, a learned Jesuit, Father Pollen, has produced such evidence. In a letter printed in the *Tablet* newspaper of the 20th inst. he has pointed out the fact, previously unknown, or known to very few (of whom I was not one), that Gabutio's *Life of St. Pius V.* is a translation from an Italian biography of that Pontiff by Catena, and that the Italian word rendered by "*de medio tollere*" is "*levare*." Now, this seems conclusive. "*Levare*," does not mean to slay but to remove. I, therefore, unreservedly withdraw the statement: "It is quite clear from the account of St. Pius V., given by the Bollandists, that he meditated the assassination of Queen Elizabeth." The presumption that the phrase "*de medio tollere*" was used by Gabutio in its usual sense is rebutted by Father Pollen's evidence. I add that, so far as my knowledge extends, there is no other evidence which warrants us in positively attributing such an intention to St. Pius V., though we must agree with Father Pollen, who observes, in a letter published in the *Tablet* of the 15th inst.: "It is still to be wished that our documents spoke more clearly in his defence;" and adds: "Papal representatives occasionally . . . instead of denouncing plans to assassinate Elizabeth, which came under their notice, bore themselves neutrally toward them, and that to a degree which almost amounted to toleration." Assuredly, it is not an excessive statement of the case. But we may here fairly apply certain other words of this learned writer that only

"those who are unaware how rough the times were . . . will be much shocked." For myself, I yield to no one in admiration of the great qualities of St. Pius V.—a truly heroic figure, in whom "the antique Roman more appears" than in any other of the Popes of that age. Stern he was, indeed. But his sternness began with himself. He was ever ready to lay down his life for the faith which, first as Inquisitor, and then as Supreme Pontiff, he defended vigorously with the weapons usually employed in his time; and as Father Pollen, who is really versed in the history of that time, very judiciously remarks (*Month*, February, 1902, p. 19 n.): "It is a mistake to presume that the Pope's high reputation requires us to believe that he would have heard of [a plan for the capture or putting to death of Elizabeth] with the same horror that we should."

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

W. S. LILLY.

Athenæum Club, August 22, 1904.





## **The Catholic Church in Russia.**

BY DOM MATERNUS SPITZ, O.S.B.

THE attention of the whole civilized world is daily turned towards the Far East to witness, in spirit at least, that bloody drama which is being played between the Russian Goliath and the Japanese David on the stage of Manchuria. Diplomats and politicians are watching every movement of the fighting armies, eagerly waiting for the result which is to turn the scales of the political world in the Far and the Near East and in the Distant West, of the Caucasian and the Yellow races. Ecclesiastical circles, not less than the political world, look with a keen interest, but also with mingled feelings of hope and fear, upon the present scene of war—Manchuria—where after many years of apostolic toil, labor and sacrifice of life, the harvest began to ripen in “the land of the Pure,” in the country of the Manchus. During the Boxer riots of 1900-01 it has supplied a large contingent of martyrs and confessors, for the Manchurian missions had to mourn the loss of one bishop, nine European and three native priests, two European nuns, and 1,400 to 1,500 native Christians, who were put to death by members of the secret society of the Tsae-li-ti or “Faster” sect, not to speak of the material losses the missions had to endure by the destruction of churches, schools, orphanages, etc. And scarcely has the work of peace and restoration been resumed by the messengers of the tidings of “Peace,” when it is again threatened by the present scourge of war. What will become of the missionary work which was be-

gun sixty years ago by the indefatigable pioneer of Manchuria, Mgr. Verolles (1840-78), no one can say. True, the Japanese have given their assurance that the missions shall be protected. It is, however, a common saying, which is based on a long experience, that not much is to be expected from the Russians. And yet they, too, seemed to have learned a lesson and to have studied the signs of the times, that religious intolerance and fanaticism do not well comply with our days of enlightenment. The Russians have protected the Catholic missions and priests in Manchuria during the Boxer riots, have saved the lives of many missionaries and Christians, have saved many a church and school from ruin and desecration, and have in many ways facilitated the work of evangelization in Manchuria, so that some are of the opinion "that *perhaps* Russia would still follow the same policy in case victory should be hers." It may therefore be of some interest to many readers to hear something more about the Catholic Church in Russia, past and present, as it is not always easy to get exact information about the position of the Catholic Church in the dominions of the Czar on account of the strict censure at the frontiers of Russia.

A small portion of Russia had been converted to Christianity as far back as the fourth century, but the little body of Christians was, so to say, drowned in the stream of the migration of nations, or was absorbed by the conflicting heresies of the fourth and fifth centuries. It is only in the ninth century that we hear again of the evangelization of Russia by SS. Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs. St. Cyril was sent by the holy Patriarch Ignatius, of Constantinople, to teach the Christian faith to the Khazar tribes, who dwelt beyond the Chersonesus (Crimea of to-day), and who in their turn

became again the means for the conversion of other tribes. After the death of St. Cyril in 869, Methodius is said to have penetrated into Muscovy proper and to have established the episcopal see of Kiew. The bulk of the Russian nation, however, remained buried in paganism till nearly a century later. Queen Olga, wife of Tgor, who ruled the destinies of Russia during the minority of her son Srioslaw (945-57), prepared the way for Christianity into Russia, after she had been baptized at Constantinople by the holy Patriarch Polyeuct. It was, however only under her grandson, the Grand Duke Wladimir the Great (918-1015), that Christianity was finally established in the Russian Empire. Wladimir ordered the statues of the false gods to be destroyed, invited by a solemn proclamation his subjects to embrace the true faith, built churches and schools, and erected the cathedral at Kiew on the very spot where formerly the temple of the national god, Porun, was to be seen (988).

From these few facts it is clear that the Russian Church did not receive her faith from the Schismatic Greek Church of Constantinople, or that she was never in union with Rome. SS. Cyril and Methodius received their mission from St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was in communion with Rome, and later on again from the Roman Pontiffs, Nicholas I. (858-67) and Hadrian II. (867-72). Olga and Wladimir were baptized by Patriarchs of Constantinople who were in communion with Rome, such as Nicholas Chrysoberg and his predecessors, Anthony, Basil and Polyeuct. And to remove every doubt of Russia having been in communion with Rome, let us quote the fact that the Grand Duke Demetrius or Isaslaw, son of Jaroslaw I., sent his ambassadors to Rome to place his kingdom under the protec-

tion of the Holy See, with the avowed intention to separate Kiev from Byzantium, which, since 1054, had fallen into schism, whereupon Pope Gregory VII. sent his legates to Russia with a letter dated April 17, 1075.

But as the Metropolitan See of Kiev had been made dependent upon the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the custom of receiving the Primate of the Russian Church from there could not but result in drawing her into the net of schism. For over fifty years the Russian Church had vigorously fought against the danger, when in the beginning of the twelfth century Nicephorus I. (1104-1121), sent from Constantinople as Primate, declared himself publicly for the schism. But again fifty years later, in 1170, John, Metropolitan of Kiev, appealed to Pope Alexander III. (1159-81) in a dispute, and solicited, *in the name of all the Russian bishops*, the Papal decision. The Tartars, however, who later on invaded Russia and ruled there from 1244-1480, reduced the churches, convents, and schools to ruins, the Russian schismatic clergy were more or less plunged in ignorance, and thus the separation from Rome was made still more complete, as the Tartar conquerors raised the Prince of Moscow to the rank of Grand Duke, and removed the Metropolitan See from Kiev to Moscow in 1328.

All the endeavors of Alexander III. and Innocent III. to reunite Russia with Rome failed; the schism lasted from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Wladislaw Tagello, of Lithuania, who had been raised to the throne of Poland, also tried his best to bring about the reunion of the "Ruthenians" as well as Gregory Cemislak, Metropolitan of Kiev, who took part in the Council of Konstanz, 1418. But only Isidor, "Metropolitan of Kiev and of all Russia," succeeded in this scheme at Florence,

in 1438-39, who with eight Ruthenian bishops made his submission to Rome, a union which lasted till 1520. Moscow, however, kept aloof all the time. When Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Turks (1453), the power and prestige of the Byzantine Patriarch were weakened, and the Czars made therefore use of this opportunity to free the Russian Church from all foreign dependence, and to subject the primates of Moscow to themselves. Czar Feodor I. erected in 1589 the Russian Patriarchate of Moscow, with the approval of Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople, who also confirmed the first Muscovite Metropolitan, Job, as Patriarch of the Russian Church. This state of affairs lasted, however, only for one century, when Peter the Great, the "Guardian of Orthodoxy," replaced the "Patriarchate of Russia," founded by Feodor I., by the "Holy Synod," and dragged the Russian Church into a net of complete subjection to the State by the Ukase of January 21, 1721. Catharine II. and Paul I. completed the work, which had been begun by the "Founder of Modern Russia," and published further Ukases for the subjection or extinction of all those who did not yet profess the faith of the orthodox Church, *i.e.*, the Uniat Ruthenians and the Catholic Poles. In order to understand the position of the Ruthenian Church, we have to go back to the years 1520 and 1595. Owing to the so-called Reformation in Germany, the poison of unbelief and apostasy was also carried into Poland, and from there was infused into the hearts of the Ruthenians, and the result was again the separation from Rome. The Ruthenian Church fell deeper and deeper; bishoprics were sold and bought; immorality, simony, and ignorance of the most fundamental truths of Christianity were prevalent among the schismatic clergy.

Ladislaw III. did his best to keep at any rate the Ruthenians in Little and White Russia together and in union with Rome. Truth-loving men, full of zeal for the salvation of souls as well as for the salvation of their nation, however, were also to be found within the Ruthenian Church, who were fully aware that only reunion with Rome could save their Church. Count Zamoiski, Cardinal George Radziwill, Bishops Bernard, Maciejowski, Hypatius Pociej, and Cyril Terlecki, supported by Sigismund III. and F. Skarga, S.J., brought finally the cherished scheme of reunion to a happy close at the Synod of Brest, October 6-10, 1596, the conditions of which had already been confirmed by Clement VIII., December 23, 1595.

This reunion found in Count Ostrogski its bitterest opponent; but the work of reunion was successfully carried out and maintained by Hypatius Pociej, Metropolitan of Kiev, Velamin Rutski, and was finally sealed with the blood of St. Josaphat Kunzewitsch, the Martyr Archbishop of Polozk (1580-1623). For these Ruthenian Uniat special sees were erected or confirmed, such as Wladimir, Brezk (Brest), Witebsk, Przemysl, Pinsk, Luzk, Polozk, Chelm, and Lemberg, which were placed as suffragan sees under the metropolitan see of Kiev. The Uniat Ruthenian Church soon numbered 12,000,000 Catholics, 13,000 parishes, 17,000 churches, and 251 monasteries of the orders of St. Basil and St. Anthony. As later on many of the districts of the Ruthenian Church came under the Polish Government, many of these Uniat Ruthenians came in close connection with the Latin Church and adopted the Latin Rite, whilst millions, however, kept the Slav Liturgy. When in 1772, '92, and '95 Poland with all her dependencies was annexed by Russia,

Catharine II. solemnly promised full religious liberty to her Catholic subjects, both Latins and Ruthenians, promises which she never intended to keep. For scarcely had the treaty of the annexation of Poland been signed when she began the work of the dissolution of the Ruthenian Uniat Church. She sent "Orthodox missionaries" to the Catholic Ruthenians, each one accompanied by a regiment of Cossacks, to force the Orthodox belief of the Russian Church into the hearts of the Ruthenians with the help of the bayonet; abolished by one stroke of the pen 1,200 churches; suppressed the dioceses of Luzk, Wladimir, Kaminiec; deprived all the parishes which numbered less than one thousand houses of their priests, and prohibited all communication with Rome. From 1794-96 Catherine forced by her cruel legislation not less than 1,572,000 Catholic Ruthenians into the fold of "Orthodoxy," and not less than 7,000,000 during her whole reign, from 1762-96. Her successors, Paul I. (1796-1801) and Alexander I. (1801-25) ceased for a time to persecute their Catholic subjects, nay, restored even some of the bishoprics; the laws laid down by Catherine, however, remained in full force, so that in 1825 there were only 1,398,478 Ruthenian Catholics left. But Nicholas I. (1825-55) found this number too alarming for the safety of the "Russian Orthodox Church" and the country, and with the help of a Judas, Siemazko, began again the work of desolation and ruin, by confiscation, exile or promises of pecuniary rewards to those who would break with Rome. In 1825 there were still 68 monasteries of men with 666 monks and ten convents with 87 sisters, all of the Ruthenian rite left, which had to disappear, although the Metropolitan, Mgr. Bulhack, of Wilna, protested against the proceedings of the Russian Government. Unfortu-

nately, in 1839 two Uniat Bishops, Siemazko and Luzinski, apostatized, and the Holy Synod published a decree, by which the Ruthenian Uniat Church was dissolved, separation from Rome proclaimed and registration for the Orthodox Church made obligatory (February 24, 1839). Czar Nicholas I. died suddenly in 1855, and was succeeded by Nicholas II. (1855-81), who in his turn sealed the ruin of the Ruthenians with the help of the episcopal administrator, Popiel of Chelm, in 1874. Thus ended the Uniat Ruthenian Church in Russia, after a struggle of over one hundred years (1773-1874), when not less than 12,000,000 Catholic Ruthenians had been cut off from the union of the Mother Church of Rome by the sword of persecution. True, many thousands of these Ruthenians, although nominally belonging to the Orthodox Church, are *de facto* still in heart united to Rome, they pay their tithes to the Russian clergy, but never go to their churches or receive the Sacraments from them, they baptize their children themselves, and have their marriages secretly solemnized by a Catholic priest. There are still two bishoprics of the Ruthenian rite in existence, *i.e.*, Minsk, under the jurisdiction of the Latin Metropolitan of Mogilew, and the united bishoprics of Chelm and Belcz, which are directly subject to the Holy See.

From the Ruthenian Catholics under the Russian Government let us turn to the Polish Catholics, and let us see how they fared. As we have seen above, Catherine II. had promised religious freedom to her Catholic subjects. She began the persecution against the Ruthenians as "heretics and apostates," who had fallen away from the Orthodox Church, and she began to persecute her Catholic Polish subjects, to bestow also upon them the blessings of the Orthodox Church, and to make them



"faithful, loyal" subjects. On her own account she erected for her new Catholic subjects the bishopric of Mogilew in 1773, and appointed the traitor, Siestrzencewicz, as its first bishop; she dissolved the Latin bishoprics of Wilna, Luzk, Kiew, Kamieniec, and founded instead of them the two bishoprics of Pinsk and Latischew, in places where not a single Catholic was to be found. Paul I. and Alexander I. were more favorable to their Catholic Polish subjects. The latter even entered into communication with the Holy See for the regulation of the Catholic Church and its hierarchy in Russia, which was to be divided into two ecclesiastical provinces, *i.e.*, (1) Mohilew, with the suffragan sees of Samogitren, Wilna, Luzk, Kamieniec, Minsk, and (2) Warsaw, with the suffragan sees of Krakaw, Wladislaw, Plozk, Seyna Augustow, Sandomir, Lublin and Podlachien. Czar Alexander I., however, expelled the Jesuits from his dominions because they had dared to receive some "Orthodox" members into the Catholic Church.

Nicholas I., however, began to persecute his Polish Catholic subjects in the most horrible way. After he had been successful in his work of dissolution with the Ruthenians, he said: "It goes well with the Ruthenians, let us also begin with the Latins." There were in Russia proper in 1804 still 305 monasteries of men with 3,000 members, and 41 convents with 550 sisters. In Russian Poland there were, in 1828, 156 monasteries of men with 1,783 members, and 29 convents with 354 sisters. In 1829 Nicholas I. forbade the reception of novices, suppressed 200 monasteries in 1832, expelled the Carmelities, Dominicans, and Franciscans in 1843, the Lazarists and Sisters of Charity in 1844. The work of suppression, begun by Nicholas I. in Russia proper was continued by

Alexander II. in Russian Poland in 1863-1864, who ordered that all monasteries and convents should be closed which numbered less than eight members. Alexander II. had commenced a regular persecution against the Poles in 1862, which led to their insurrection in the following year, and thereby increased the fury of the almighty Czar. The Apostolic Administrator of Warsaw, Mgr. Bianobscheski, was condemned to death, 60 priests and 15,000 laymen were imprisoned. Nearly all the Catholic Bishops of Poland were sent into exile in the interior of Russia or near the frontiers of Siberia, *i.e.*, Bishop Rzewuski to Astrachan, Bishop Lubienski died on his way to Perm, Bishop Bowaski to Perm, Bishop Kalinski died in the interior of Russia, Archbishop Felinski, of Warsaw, to Jaroslaw, and Bishop Krasinski to Wiatka; other Polish priests, 150 in number, were sent into the interior of Russia, and another 100 to Siberia. In 1871 the Catholic Church of Poland was to be changed into the "Slavonian Catholic National Church," or at any rate into a "Catholic Slavonian Church," by the proposal of the Apostate Makary. The plan, however, failed. In 1885 the persecution was revived, and Mgr. Hryniewiki, Bishop of Wilna, who had just been appointed with the consent of the Government in 1883, was also sent to Jaroslaw. In 1877 every communication between Rome and Russia had been interrupted, but was restored by the influence of the Pro-Nuncio of Vienna, Cardinal Jacobini, and the Russian Ambassador Oubril, in order to fill some vacant sees and to make some regulations concerning the Ecclesiastical Academy at Petersburg, where students are sent from all the Catholic dioceses in Russia to be trained in the higher studies required for the priesthood. By and by some kind of a *modus vivendi*

was created in Russia, but still the Catholic Church is hampered in her work from all sides. "The position of a Catholic priest in Russia is one of extreme difficulty. Every sort of odious formality is required of him, any attempt at proselytism is watched, and, if successful, punished with the utmost severity. In the case of mixed marriages, the children are forced to be brought up in the religion of the State; priests cannot go from one village to another without obtaining permission, which is often refused." The Russian Government allows to all the free practice of their own religion (according to the letter but not in practice), but it does not allow the members of the Orthodox Church to embrace any other confession of faith, still less to become Catholics. The most severe penalties are incurred by those who are guilty of such a "crime." A Russian who embraces Catholicism through a conscientious belief that it is the true faith, or a Catholic priest proved to have caused the conversion of a Russian, is treated like a "State criminal," forfeits all the rights and privileges of his station, and is sent into exile—into the provinces of Tobolsk or Tomsk. True, in the Imperial Manifesto of February 26, 1903, Czar Nicholas II. shows a large-mindedness with regard of religious toleration, but again this freedom is more or less only on paper. To understand better the present condition of Catholicism in Russia we subjoin the following statistics:

The population of the Russian Empire consists, according to the latest statistics (1903-04) of 128,187,927 inhabitants, *i.e.* for European Russia, 89,606,106 "Orthodox Russians;" 11,420,227 Catholics; 6,213,237 Protestants; 124,038 other Christians; 5,189,400 Jews; 13,889,421 Mohammedans; 645,503 Pagans. For Asiatic Rus-

sia are given: 660,000 Orthodox members; 180,000 Ras-kolnics; 70,000 Catholics; 20,000 Protestants; 84,000 Armenians; 40,000 Jews; 870,000 Mohammedans; 450,000 pagans.

In Siberia alone are about 25,000 Catholics, under the jurisdiction of Mogilew, distributed over ten parishes such as Tomsk, Marjinsk, Tobolsk, etc., of which the "parish" of Tomsk is as big as France, and has only two priests.

In the following table it is to be remarked that Mogilew with its suffragan sees comprises Russia Proper, Warsaw, with its suffragan sees, Russian Poland. (N.B. There is a somewhat slight difference in the number of Catholics given above and in the subsequent table, as we had obtained fuller details. The first are taken from the *Gotha'schen Hofkalender.*) :

## STATISTICS.

| Dioceses.                              | Catholics. | Parishes. | Churches | Secular Priests. | Religious. |        |
|--|------------|-----------|----------|------------------|------------|--------|
|  |            |           |          |                  | Men.       | Women. |
| Archdiocese Mogilew and Minsk          |            |           |          |                  |            |        |
| 1783 1798                              | 934,885    | 210       | 196      | 347              | —          | —      |
| Dioc. Luzk, Shitomiv, Kamenez          |            |           |          |                  |            |        |
| 1257 1320 1370                         | 738,056    | 263       | 247      | 297              | —          | —      |
| " Samogitien (Telsche)                 |            |           |          |                  |            |        |
| (1416)                                 | 1,258,092  | 426       | 361      | 623              | 198        | 36     |
| " Tiraspol (1848) .....                | 320,778    | 114       | 18 ?     | 190              | —          | —      |
| " Wilna 1341, rest. 1847....           | 1,369,421  | 258       | 445      | 480              | 5          | 22     |
| Archdiocese Warsaw 1798, 1818          | 1,523,699  | 329       | 170      | 518              | 36         | 290    |
| Dioc. Kielzy (1805) .....              | 794,100    | 246       | 274      | 330              | 25         | —      |
| " Lublin and Podlachien                |            |           |          |                  |            |        |
| 1805 1818                              | 1,147,560  | 207       | 383      | 386              | 15         | 10     |
| " Plozk (981) .....                    | 728,778    | 267       | 334      | 303              | 26         | 7      |
| " Sandomierz (1818) .....              | 747,328    | 276       | 346      | 325              | 30         | 15     |
| " Augustow Seiney (1798)               | 691,117    | 119       | 325      | 339              | 10         | 12     |
| " Wladyslawowv Kaliz (996, 1818) ..... | 1,170,820  | 375       | 225      | 530              | 73         | 46     |
| Artuin (Armen. Rite) (1850) ..         | 13,000     | 9         | 8        | 23               | —          | —      |
| Tiraspol (Armen. Rite) (1848).         | 32,250     | 6         | 9        | 22               | —          | —      |
| Chelm and Belz (Ruthen. Rite)          | ?          | ?         | ?        | ?                | ?          | ?      |
|  | 11,469,884 | 3,105     | 4,551    | 4,693            | 418        | 438    |

**Italian Catholics**  
**and**  
**The Political Elections**



## Italian Catholics and The Political Elections



HARDLY had there appeared, in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* (Official Gazette) of the kingdom, on October 10, the decree for the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies and the convocation of the Electoral Colleges, when the *Lega Lombarda* published in its number for the following day a notable article "In Defence of Order" announcing that "a large contingent of the orderly elements will take part in a debate whose theme will be a defense against the dangers of all sorts which a victory of the revolutionary parties would inevitably foreshadow."

These or similar declarations might be read in those days in a large part of the Italian press, especially that which was avowedly Catholic, openly reflecting the new era created by recent events, and by circumstances of much gravity and great peril to the public life. The famous *Mikros* wrote thus in the *Cittadino* (Citizen) of Genoa: "Never, we believe, in Italy were the positions of the parties so evenly balanced as at present, and never was our sympathy so pronounced for the victory of the party of order against that of disorder; for in this conflict not merely is there a political struggle between the

ministerialists and the anti-ministerialists, but there are involved the social interests of the nation, and a problem of the public weal."

To the new movement new facts responded:

The editor of the *Lega Lombarda*, Marquis De Carlo Ottavio Cornaggia, presented himself with flying colors at the IV District of Milan, and was received by all the saner conservative element, supported by the Catholic vote, which made him triumph over the outgoing radical Mangiagalli. And the victory reached other districts of the metropolis, so that all the revolutionary socialistic candidates were overthrown.

At Treviglio, Lawyer Cameroni, also of the *Lega Lombarda*, presented himself against Engel, the celebrated Mason, flying even more openly than his editor the Catholic colors. A sharp battle was that first vote, leaving victory uncertain, but turning out to be a splendid one in the election by ballot. Ninety per cent. of those registered, and all the Catholics of the district appeared at the polls, but so many and so shameful were the intrigues of the enemy that at the last hour, by suppressing in nameless proceedings both polls and votes, Engel was declared elected. But justice, we trust, will be done in Rome by the judges of elections.

At Bergamo the Catholics put forward Commissioner Piccinelli. "To avoid," said their manifesto, "new and graver offenses against the consciences of Catholics, to do useful work for our country and for civil society, and also for this our beloved native land to which we owe all our thoughts and all our actions, we invite you to descend into the field with a tranquil conscience and vote for Dr. Piccinelli." These words, "tranquil conscience," were looked upon suspiciously in some places, or were



even cast up against Catholics, as though they indicated a flat contradiction with the attitude they assumed some months ago. But the *Eco di Bergamo* (Bergamo Echo) in announcing the complete defeat of the Socialist candidate, and the victory of Piccinelli, published this frank avowal: "It behooves us to declare, once for all, to the press and the public, that those Catholics who went to the polls put themselves in condition to be able to do so with complete tranquillity of conscience, and that our paper, even in these most delicate circumstances, has not swerved from that safe line of conduct which has raised it above all suspicion, all the more so that this attitude has not been attained by the public or the press, which have neither authority to suspect it nor right to censure it."

The same declaration was made by the *Verona Fedele* (The Faithful of Verona) although in the first period of the elections it had strongly advocated abstention from the polls:—

"To-day when the balloting has resulted in the success of Prof. Luigi Rossi, we say categorically that the Catholics of the second district were placed in a position to exercise the right of suffrage with a clear conscience, and that the *Verona Fedele* does not feel that it is in any wise to blame for its attitude during this last week."

At Rho a most significant vote was cast for Dr. Filippo Meda, director of the *Osservatore Cattolico* (Catholic Observer) of Milan, but he did not win, because he wished to abstain from electoral work, refusing the nomination for reasons of his own, as Lawyer Mauri, director of the *Momento* of Turin, had likewise done at Seregno.

Moreover, there had run through Italy, as rapidly as an electric spark, the word of command to overthrow

with all possible force the partisans of revolt. And, likewise, the Catholics, at least in many places and in Rome itself, descended into the arena, some straggling, others better disciplined, as their general condition of unpreparedness and their improvised resolutions might allow, and the triumph of the party of order was achieved beyond all expectation; leaving a conviction in every mind that such a result could not have been obtained without the assistance of these providential Catholic reserves.

At present we do not wish either to discuss the value of this victory or make any prognostication as to the position that will be taken by the new legislative chamber. It concerns us rather to insist upon the novel fact of the participation of Catholics in the balloting, notwithstanding the papal prohibition, and to place things under their true point of view.

Above all, we must repeat what we have already declared in a note in our *Cronaca Italiana* of the preceding quarter. Nobody with good sense will dare to condemn unconditionally all the Catholics who under present circumstances came forward to cast their political vote. Not only the impending danger, and the consequent necessity to combat it, might form in their conscience a practical direction to act thus, but at the present moment, from all the facts which are being developed and from the declarations publicly made by our best Catholics, it is right to recognize that many of them did not act without first having come to an understanding with competent authority. For which reason their action must be called legitimate, and legitimate, also, all the consequences that flowed from it.

On the other hand, it is no less certain that the pontifical prohibition, expressed in the well-known formula in

the *Non expedit*, has not been abrogated, even though on this occasion the supreme authority did not deem it opportune to renew it publicly, as has happened at other times. Likewise, we do not think that the silence of the supreme authority is equivalent in the present case to those tacit abrogations of a living law, which are frequently met with in legal annals; because the facts as they occurred presented the character of simple exceptions to the rule, which might very well repeat and multiply themselves in the future, but also might not be again permitted. At all events the existence of the pontifical prohibition in the face of numerous exceptions has aroused sufficiently diverse opinions, and troublesome controversies, which increase the already serious divisions in our camp. Some, with drawn sword, would defend the inviolability of the *Non expedit*, charging rebellion against all who did not obey it; others sought reasons either for or against the *Non expedit*, according to their own individual opinions and tendencies; the Liberals in one way, the Catholics in another; whence arose a great confusion of ideas concerning a matter which in itself was very plain and simple.

It will therefore be timely to examine briefly the nature and the meaning of the pontifical prohibition. Thus, placing the principles before our minds in their true light, it will not be difficult to appraise rightly the facts that occurred, and to draw from one and from the other some practical suggestions for harmonious action among Italian Catholics. Never did harmony seem so necessary to the welfare of the Church and of our social life as at the present time.

## II.

The pontifical prohibition, as we have repeatedly affirmed in past years, is a simple precept of ecclesiastical discipline, and hence in its very nature contingent and mutable. It is not founded on reasons of the intrinsic harmfulness of the things prohibited, as much as on reasons of convenience and timeliness extrinsic to it. No one, in fact, has ever pretended that to be nominated, or to approach the ballot box to elect those who are to legislate in Parliament (as the supposition is, for the common weal) are things evil in themselves. Were this so, any participation, active or passive, in political elections ought to have been and should to-day be forbidden, not only in Italy, but everywhere. Instead, the fact is that in the year 1877, the matter of the *Non expedit* was not yet definitely launched in Italy,<sup>1</sup> and that outside of Italy, the participation of Catholics in the public life of their country not only is not forbidden, but on the contrary was approved, praised, and recommended by the Holy See. When, therefore, the Holy Office, in 1886, by order of Leo XIII declared in regard to the use of the ballot box by Italian-Catholics that the *Non expedit*, already pronounced by the Holy Penitentiaria, contained a formal prohibition, and was therefore equivalent to a *Non licet*, he did not mean and he could not affirm of such voting anything more than that it was in so far unlawful as it was a thing prohibited,

<sup>1</sup> Pope Pius IX assures us of this under his own hand, in his brief of January 30, 1877, directed to Comm. Acquaderni. Speaking of the discord among Catholics in regard to this very argument he wrote thus: "Cum haec auctoritas [ecclesiastica] nondum definiverit liceat necne et quo pacto praesertim pro ditione nostra, publicis se ingerere negotiis; probare profecto nequimus illorum consilium qui sacrae auctoritatis placitum antevertentes, eam potius praeceundam quam sequendam existimant." We published the evidence in Vol. I (1877) of the Tenth Series, page 386.

but prohibited *only* because in certain circumstances the Pope believed it to be harmful and inexpedient for the welfare of the Church, of all which he alone is a competent judge.

And here it is well to add that the Italian Parliament must not be judged in the same manner as foreign Parliaments. Other states have not established themselves, like the Kingdom of Italy, upon the ruins of the temporal sovereignty of the Head of the Church. The Italian deputy, by the mere fact of his entrance into Parliament, takes an active part in the highest functions of this sovereignty, those of the legislative power. Why, therefore, does not this, his act, incur the note of sacrilegious usurpation, and require that the Pontiff himself, exercising his sovereignty, must legitimate it by voluntary consent? That he can so consent, and that this consent, as a *conditio sine qua non* is sufficient for the aforesaid purpose, is for us Catholics beyond all controversy.

The Pontiffs, Pius IX and Leo XIII did not deem it opportune in their times to grant this consent universally, and, moved by "reasons of the highest order," they generally sanctioned and maintained the prohibition of the *Non expedit* against voting or accepting an election to Parliament without the permission of the Pope.

His Holiness, Our Lord Pius X, now happily reigning, has not set aside the rule laid down by his illustrious predecessors. He also has his good reasons for exacting or not exacting, in specific cases, the observance of this prohibition, and he would have reasons no less valid if, in fulfilling an act of his sovereignty, he decreed its total abolition.

In regard, however, to a disciplinary prohibition in a matter depending on special circumstances of time, of

persons, and of things, every one understands that such prohibition which might be opportune, or, if you will, necessary under given circumstances, might become and does become less suitable and even prejudicial under different circumstances. It may even happen that the use of the ballot or an election to Parliament, which under no circumstances was expedient in past years, should, under the new and altered circumstances of our own time, become expedient to-day or in the more or less imminent future. But of this, it is important to repeat, the Pope is the sole judge. He alone is sovereign in the Church; he alone has received from God the charge of regulating its interests, and in this he is assisted by Him with singular providence. Whoever else arrogates to himself such a decision is rash. And his rashness would reach the height of presumption if, failing to consider things as they really are, and as they develop in the course of human events, he were obstinate enough to retain this prohibition as absolute and immutable, insinuating that the Pope would fall into a contradiction were he to suspend its execution or abrogate it altogether.

But the pontifical prohibition is to be still further considered under another aspect,—that of a public, solemn and continuous protest of the Holy See and of the Catholics against the work of spoliation of the revolution. Certain it is that Pius IX and Leo XIII intended to give it this significance, as we know from history; that the reason for the protest always appears, more or less expressly stated, in the documents relating to this matter; and that Catholics have continually invoked it in explaining their attitude towards the Italian government. And they thus obtained salutary effects; the Catholics were clearly separated from the revolutionary party, and were not sub-

mitted to its evil influences; they took no part, not even an indirect one, in the fatal work of the revolution, and the latter, in full mastery of itself and with full facility to make its own record in the administration of public affairs, demonstrated by evident signs the extent of its incapacity to achieve and to maintain the true welfare of Italy. And thus it became evident to everybody that there was a supreme necessity to call a halt on this deplorable downward path, and to *rebuild the return road*, as Leo XIII has already said, and to adjust our own forces in quite another manner. Pending that, wherever possible, the Catholic reserves are loyally stretching out a hand to them, in order that with the new energies, and above all, with the principles of order and of justice founded upon the immutable basis of religion, the imperilled ship of state may escape wreck and regain the port.

With all this it is manifest that the significance of the protest ascribed to the *Non expedit*, is not intrinsically inherent in it. Were this not so it would have to be said that they who protest against the government are all those, and they are many, who abstain from mingling in public affairs, either through disrespect, or distrust, or that natural disposition common to some people which makes them avoid anything inconvenient.

Were the pontifical prohibition withdrawn, however, that form of protest would undoubtedly cease which consists in abstention from political life, but it would not follow that the Holy See or the Catholics would thereby sanction the acts of the revolution. In fact with the ceasing of the pontifical prohibition, although the *negative* protest would cease, the *positive* protest would at once spring into being, and one which under existing circumstances, might be much more efficacious, the active protest,

in other words, of a Catholic party which with all the legal and constitutional means at its disposal, would defend the rights of the Church and the rights of St. Peter. Working in this fashion it is clear that Catholics would forfeit nothing of their Catholic and papal programme. Furthermore it is certain that if the Pope allowed them to enter Parliament, they could enter it no otherwise than with erect head and intrepid heart,—making themselves known for what they were, in the manner and form, be it understood, which would be counselled by prudence and charity. Their position in Parliament, therefore, would be clear and well defined, and no one could interpret it as an abdication of principles, or as an acceptance of deeds done to the damage of the Holy See, or still less, as a tacit adhesion to a system of government, or a state of affairs which they rightfully deplore.

In like manner, still accepting the hypothesis that the prohibition were withdrawn, there is no doubt whatever that Catholics, presenting themselves to the chamber as lovers of order with an anti-revolutionary programme, and with minds made up to combat energetically every subversive principle, would sustain the existing government just so far as the latter represented the custody of order. It cannot be denied that if they were in Parliament they would strengthen it and do it no little good. This reinforcement, however, if desired by the Catholics would be desired only in so far as it went hand in hand with what they would look upon as a higher kind of well-doing—the defense that is of the most vital interests of Italy, her religious interests, indissolubly bound up with the maintenance and with respect for the rights of the Holy See. For the rest, in presence of the danger of a social revolution fomented in Italy by the revolutionary parties, in



presence of the danger of a repetition among ourselves, through the agency of the same parties, of the same infamies which are destroying France to-day, the mere reinforcement of that which represents order and guarantees it, is not evil, but good, ordained so that we may the better attain the end we have in view.

It cannot be doubted that the revolution in the end will consume itself, but it may well happen that first it will consume us, and that which is still dearer to us, the welfare of the Church and of the country. Therefore the very instinct of self-preservation should induce us to restrain it in every manner, if only by taking part in political life whenever and in whatever measure may please the Supreme Hierarch of the Church.

Whatever may be the final decision by the Holy See on this point, Catholics, we are certain, will follow it with all their hearts and will set themselves to realize it with fervent zeal, dismissing every opinion they formerly held.

### III.

Meanwhile it is supremely important that such a decision, whenever it is arrived at, should not find Catholics off their guard. Preparation, therefore, is needed, and this must be immediate, serious, and universal throughout the country. And if, moreover, it is desired to make it efficacious and fruitful these three conditions, in our opinion, should be fulfilled.

1. It is necessary that all Italian Catholics should be organized after the manner of an army with a severe discipline, as the Catholics of Germany have done and are doing at present, that they should be liberal towards all private initiatives for the good of society and of the Church, but exacting towards everything that has more

or less immediate relation to the organization of their party.

It will be needful, in fact, to know upon how many and what forces one can count; who are the most active men in the movement; who have raised themselves above the others by their merit as citizens, politicians, and Catholics, and are furthermore worthy to be recommended to the loyalty of their electors. No other party could organize itself everywhere more speedily and more compactly than ours, accustomed as we are to obedience towards those who have the right to demand it, and to unreserved self-sacrifice in all that pertains to our material and, still more, our moral and religious welfare.

2. This necessary organization cannot be obtained without some one who would give it the initiative and direct it with farseeing purpose. It would be necessary then that there should be established an initial nucleus of tried and proved Catholics, who should form a head centre to start with whence would issue the word of command, sound, clear, precise, which should announce not political action, but the preparation for it, under whatever emergency may arise in the future, according to the direction of the supreme authority. It is sufficient for us to suggest the idea. It is for the Catholics of Italy to accept it and make it their own.

3. Lastly, nothing will be achieved unless there be a cessation of the deplorable discords which in these latter days have distracted our Catholic life;—a sad example to the Catholics of other nations, a cause of pain to the good, and of indescribable bitterness to the gentle soul of the august Pius X. The evil always comes from the extremists, from those who live only in the past, not recognizing that the world has moved onward and that in mun-

dane affairs, when circumstances have been substantially changed, there is and there must be a similar change in the methods and the means of actions. And the other extreme comes from those who live in the future, and occasionally in a utopia also, not recognizing, they either, that many of their projects are born of a lively fancy, which would be difficult to transform into reality even in the future, and that even the good that they suggest has not yet reached the maturity of time necessary for reducing it to practice. Ideas are like plants, which are not created full grown, but must be evolved, little by little, from a seed, with infinite care and in a propitious soil and climate. One and the other of these extremists must henceforth be eliminated if we wish to obtain peace and harmony. The middle way is the just, the true way. But perhaps it is still necessary to indicate that way? Now, Leo XIII and Pius X have done so most sagaciously in their documents discussing the social conduct of Italian Catholics, and the right ordering of various Catholic efforts, under the direction of the bishops and the enlightened and zealous guidance of the persons indicated by the Holy See. The political ideal which confronts us must not alter the character of those labors which do not admit of the ideal; the duty to prepare oneself for the electoral ballot concerns individuals not as members of this or that circle of society, but as citizens. But all this will prove extremely efficacious in bringing cohesion to those circles of society by making them all feel persuaded that whatever is already well ordered and adjusted, need only gather itself more firmly together in order to assert itself at the proper moment as the better element.

All this, it is well to repeat it once more, is said by us only under the hypothesis, that the Supreme Pontiff will

decide without any injury to his rights, to permit Catholics to take part, actively and passively, in political elections. Without such permission, express or implied, general or partial, we have sustained and we shall continue to sustain that the *Non expedit* remains in force.

## The Catholic Protectorate of France in the East and in the Far East. (1)

<sup>1</sup> We are glad to be able to publish in the *Civiltà Cattolica* this article on "The French Protectorate in the East and the Far East," written by an eminent and learned Prelate, well known to us. For good reasons he has not deemed it advisable to append his name. We, however, on our own account, assure the reader that he is a person most competent to treat of the subject he has chosen, and that he is deservedly esteemed by students of sacred sciences for various legal works which he has published. Anyone who has hitherto possessed a superficial knowledge concerning the French Protectorate, which he here discusses, cannot help being moved by the revelations he makes, nor marvelling at the light conduct of certain French Politicians, who seem ready to make sacrifice of a signal privilege of their nation.

Note by the Editors,  
October 27, 1904.

### I.

#### THE OCCASION FOR THIS STUDY AND THE STATE OF THE QUESTION.

IMMEDIATELY on the sundering of the diplomatic relations between France and the Holy See, the press of Europe, and of France in particular,—especially since the declaration of M. Combes to the editor of the *Neue Frèie Presse* of Vienna, only slightly modified in the speech at Auxerre,—began to occupy itself with the matter of the Catholic Protectorate of France in the East and the Far East. It must be confessed that the declarations of M. Combes have not met with favor, since the political leaders and the most important organs of public opinion in France are not prepared to admit that the nation, through the hatred of a few for the Church, shall lose that privilege which makes a part of the national heritage and has contributed and does contribute so efficaciously to uphold the moral influence of France in those regions.

But it is not our present intention to start a controversy with M. Combes. We will content ourselves merely with reminding him of the untruth, which, in order to stir up the public mind against the Church, he allowed to be understood in his speech at Auxerre, to wit, that the Holy See, as in some sort a reprisal for the rupture of diplomatic relations, has threatened to despoil the French nation of the Catholic protectorate. We wish rather to make a brief, dispassionate and objective review of this protectorate, and we cherish the hope that even after the excellent articles which have been published in certain French newspapers and periodicals, we may be able to throw a little light upon an argument so important and so timely.

The French protectorate in the Levant and the Far East consists in the exclusive right (and likewise the duty) of France to defend the Catholic church in those regions, together with certain honorable prerogatives. Wherefore the French protectorate embraces two things, which it would be well to distinguish:—

1. The exclusive right (and likewise the duty) to protect the Catholic church in the places subject to the protectorate.

2. Certain special honors reserved in the same places for the representatives of France, as the Protector of the Catholic Church. In some sense it may be said that the protectorate is akin to the right of patronage, well known to all students of canonical sciences, which comprehends, not only certain rights (with corresponding honors), but also certain special honorary prerogatives. These, therefore, are the two elements which compose the Catholic protectorate of France and which, united, give her a real moral supremacy in the entire East and in the Far East.

The chief scope of this study is to determine the legal

foundation of each of these elements. We will argue separately of each. Of the territorial limits of the French protectorate, we will say only that it extends over nearly all the Turkish empire, and all the Chinese empire, and this is what we mean by the East, or Levant, and the Far East. If, in addition, this protectorate, in whole or in part, is exercised in those countries which recently belonged to Turkey, but are now independent or quasi-independent, or belong to some other state; if it is exercised also in other states of the Far East, apart from China, we will not examine into the question, partly because the search for other states would not be easy and partly because the point is not necessary for our purposes. In fact, once admit the theories which we will elucidate concerning Turkey and China, and it will be easy to form also an exact conception of the French protectorate in the other quarters where it flourishes. In the same manner we shall not undertake to enumerate in detail the persons and the institutions comprised under this protectorate, nor the rights which it is called upon to vindicate, such as result from international treaties, firmans or usage; let it suffice to say in general that its province is to look after the interests of the Catholic Church in such regions.

## II.

### FRANCE'S RIGHT TO PROTECT CATHOLIC INTERESTS IN THE EAST.

It is evident that every government, by its own right, can (and should) protect in every foreign country its own subjects and their property, and, still more, the national property. This right, in so far as it regards Turkey, is recognized by the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers in Article 62 of the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878).

"The Sublime Porte, having expressed the wish to maintain the principle of religious liberty by giving it the largest extension the contracting parties take notice of this spontaneous declaration.

"In no part of the Ottoman Empire may difference of religion be attributed to any one as a motive for exclusion or for incapacitating him from anything that comes under the head of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of the different trades and professions.

"Every one shall be admitted, without distinction of religion, to testify before the courts.

"Freedom of worship and the exterior practice of all religions are guaranteed to all, and no hindrance can be given either to the hierarchic organization of the different communions, or to their relations with their spiritual chiefs.

"The clergy, the pilgrims, and the monks of all nations, travelling in European or Asiatic Turkey, will enjoy the same rights, advantages and privileges.

"The right of official protection is recognized as belonging to the diplomatic and consular agents of the Powers in Turkey, not only in regard to the persons above mentioned, but also to their religious, charitable and other establishments in the Holy Places and elsewhere.

"The rights acquired by France are expressly reserved, and it is understood that no attack will be made upon the status quo in the Holy Places.

"The monks of Mount Athos, whatever be the land of their birth, will be maintained in their former privileges and possessions and will enjoy without any exception, an entire equality of rights and privileges."

So far as regards other subjects, or their property, or the property of other nations, a government has not the



right to protect them in a foreign country, save by concession of the local government, or by a mandate legitimately received, and only within the limits of such concession or such mandate. This principle, which no one surely would wish to throw doubt upon, explains the Catholic protectorate of France in the East and in the Far East.

In fact the right of France to protect the interests of the Catholic Church in the Levant rests in the first place upon the concessions received from the Ottoman government, which have the force of international treaties. All these concessions may be found in the *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman, etc.*, published at Paris in 1897 by Gabriel Effendi Novadounghian, legal Counsellor of the Ottoman Porte. We will consider the agreement made in 1740 with Louis XV, which repeats and extends the concessions made in the preceding agreements of 1535, 1569, 1604, 1673,—quoting them according to the official (French) translation made by Deval.

In article I of this agreement we read: "There shall be no interference with Frenchmen who go and come on a visit to Jerusalem in the same way as the religious who are in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, known as CAMAMAT."

These words, in the translation, seem to extend the right of protection to religious orders of every nationality who find themselves in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, although the Turkish text limits it to religious of French nationality. But whatever the Turkish text may say, the religious of other nations also are embraced under the French protection; as will appear more clearly from what we are about to report.

In articles 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, the following is stated:—  
"Article 32. Bishops dependent upon France, and other

religious who profess the Frankish faith, of whatever nation or kind they be, when they keep themselves within the borders of their state, will not be interfered with in the exercise of their functions, in those parts of our Empire where they have long resided.

"Article 33. The Frankish religious who, according to ancient custom, are established within and without the City of Jerusalem in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, called *camamqt* will not be interfered with in the places of visitation which they inhabit and which are in their hands, and these shall remain in their hands as heretofore, without subjecting them to any molestation, not even by pretence of taxation, and if any lawsuit should involve them which cannot be decided on the spot, it shall be referred to my Sublime Porte.

"Article 34. The French or all people dependent on them of whatever nation or sort they may happen to be, who may journey to Jerusalem, shall not be interfered with, either going or coming.

"Article 35. The two French religious orders which are at Galata, to wit, the Jesuits and the Capuchins, having there two churches which have remained in their hands *ab antiquo*, these shall continue to remain in their hands, and they shall have the possession and the enjoyment thereof. And as one of these churches has been burnt, it shall be rebuilt by permission of the law, and shall remain, as hitherto, in the hands of the Capuchins, and they shall not be disturbed in this enjoyment. There shall be no interference either with the churches which the French nation possesses in Smyrna, in Saïd, in Alexandria, and other places, and no money shall be exacted from them under this pretext.

"Article 36. The French shall not be molested when within the borders of their state they read the gospel in their hospital at Galata."

The first of the articles above cited, to wit, article 32, is most clear in favor of French protection over the religious of all nationalities. Unfortunately, however, the Turkish text (in article 32 as well as in article 34) lacks the words "de quelque nation" (of whatever nation), which must, therefore, be suppressed. None the less, the sense of the article would remain equally clear. In this connection it must be observed that with the Turks, *Frankish religion*, means *Catholic religion of the Latin rite*, as *Franks* were the *Catholics of the Latin rite*; wherefore when the article speaks of religious "who profess the Frankish faith, of whatever nation or kind they be" it must follow that under French protection are embraced all the Catholic religious of the Latin rite. Moreover, in the above-cited *collection* of Signor Novadounghian, after the agreement of 1840, there are given some explanatory notes by M. Bianchi on several articles of the official translation (by Deval) of the agreements with France of May 28, 1748, and in Note 13, concerning article 32, it is observed that "in the Turkish text the religious as well as the bishops, must be dependents of France." All which seems to be confirmed by article 82, which sums up the agreements made in the preceding articles and speaks of bishops and religious "dependent upon the Emperor of France." We cannot enter into a philological discussion of the Turkish text; it will suffice to observe that article 33 speaks of *Frankish religious*, that is, Catholics of the Latin rite, in regard to whom constant and ancient usage, admitted by the same Ottoman government, has interpreted article 32 in a sense favorable to France. Let us admit, therefore, that France, by reason of the agreements, extends its protection over all the Catholic religious of the Latin rite, of whatever nationality, who are to be found in the Levant while the

Catholics of the Oriental rite are comprehended by usage rather than by the written text of the treaties.

However, a similar right of protection, no less extensive, was conceded by the Porte to other nations also, in particular to Austro-Hungary. To convince oneself it suffices to cite article 13 of the treaty of peace of 1699, afterwards repeated in the succeeding treaties of peace of 1718 and 1739:—

“In regard to the Christian religious, acknowledging His Holiness the Pope, I confirm the clauses and the conditions contained in the treaties accorded by my illustrious predecessors and specially promulgated to this effect in the Imperial Edicts. The said clauses and conditions will be as much in force as in the past, that is, no opposition shall be made to the reparation of their churches in their original forms and locations, and in the exercise of their worship. No vexations will be inflicted upon the religious, to whatever order they may belong, either to extort money from them or on any other pretext contrary to the law of Cheri, and the stipulations of the imperial treaty. The said religious shall enjoy all possible tranquillity under my imperial protection. In addition, when the Ambassador of the Emperor comes to Constantinople, he will have the right to submit to me their demands in regard to religious affairs and the localities of pilgrimages situated in Jerusalem.”

It is evident that Austria-Hungary, by force of these articles, possesses, no less than France, the right to protect Catholic religious orders in all parts of the Levant, without any restriction of place or nationality. And inasmuch as Austria-Hungary, lacking then in fleets, has in fact exerted her protectorate specially in the Turkish countries, and those lying on their borders, none the less her right, resulting from treaties, is in general no less

than the right of France. On the other hand we may add that, being among the last of the international treaties, the Austrian protectorate extends over all the Catholic religious, while the French protectorate must restrict itself, as we have said, to the Catholic religious of the Latin rite.

In the same way England, also, might claim the same right, conceded not directly but by implication in article 18 of the agreement of 1675:—

"All the privileges, articles and concessions granted to the French, to the Venetians and to other Princes who entertain amicable relations with the Sublime Porte, having been equally granted as a favor to the English by virtue of our special order; these same privileges, articles and concessions must in all times be observed according to their form and tenor, in such fashion that in the future nobody shall permit himself to infringe or contradict them."

And in strictness Russia also might invoke in her own favor article 7 of the treaty of peace of 1774: "The Sublime Porte promises constant protection to the Christian religion and to the churches of that religion."

We are not speaking in this article of orthodox religion, but of the *Christian* religion, which certainly and principally comprises the Catholic. Therefore if Catholic religious, even the non-Russian, found themselves persecuted on account of their religion, and had recourse to the Russian representative, we do not see why they should not depend upon this article for intervention.

From all this it clearly appears that the right of protecting the interests of the Catholic church in the Levant is attributed by the treaties not only to France, but also to other nations, either for their own subjects or the subjects of other nations, not excluding the subjects of the

Porte itself. Neither was this right suppressed by article 62 of the treaty of Berlin already referred to, and in fact, Austria, for example, even after this treaty, has continued to exercise her protectorate in the localities where she had previously exercised it in favor even of non-Austrian persons and institutions. Therefore, if the agreements contained in that article failed to be observed we believe that every Power that signed it, by virtue of the article itself, could safely claim, even concerning persons and things of other nationalities, the special rights which every Power, and especially France, has obtained from treaties, from usage, or from the Holy See. Some people are of opinion that the other Powers outside of France, having never exercised the protectorate, have lost the right, even if they ever possessed it. Many things might be said in answer to this; let it suffice to state that it is false that other Powers have never exercised their rights of protection. Thus Austria, though it has used its protectorate continuously and insistently only in the provinces that border upon it, has nevertheless often intervened in favor of the holy places of Jerusalem. For the preservation of a right consecrated by solemn international treaties a constant use of the same is not necessary.

The right of protection, therefore, conceded by the Porte in international treaties to any Power rests unshakable. The Porte in these treaties makes some concessions to the Catholic church, and accords to the other Power the right of intervention as often as the concessions are violated. Herein consists the right of protection. This possibility of interference is particularly odious to the Ottoman government, when it concerns Turkish subjects and their institutions; but none the less it is a right, conceded by the Sultans to these Powers, which must be respected. Not the Holy See itself could suppress or restrict this

right, inasmuch as it comes as a concession from the Sublime Porte, in which matter the Holy See is only a bystander.

It remains now to examine what special title France possesses in the Catholic protectorate of the East, and why, notwithstanding the right of every Power to protect its own subjects, notwithstanding the concession made by the Porte to various Powers in these international treaties, the Catholic protectorate of the East belongs almost exclusively to France.

This depends solely on the Holy See, and can depend on nothing else. In the first place, as will appear from the documents we will cite later, the Roman Pontiff, the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, has conferred upon France, who had accepted it, the mandate or the mission to protect Catholic persons and institutions of whatever nationality in the entire Levant even in the localities reserved to Austria. For which reason, although other Powers have but a single title to interfere for the protection of people and institutions of other nationalities, to wit the concession of the Sultan, France has two titles, the concession of the Sultan and the mandate or the mission of the Holy See. And in regard to persons and institutions of their own nationality two titles appertain to the other Powers, and three to France. We readily admit that this difference is rather theoretical than practical, as in practice it matters little whether a right is derived from one or from two titles.

But the Holy See did not content itself with a simple mandate or a simple mission conceded to France, she furthermore obliged the Catholics of the Orient to turn to the French diplomatic and consular agents, and forbade them to make appeal to others, save in the localities where Austria exercised her protectorate. Naturally this

mandate and this prohibition do not prevent the Holy See, according to its needs, from turning to other Powers, in order to save Catholic missions and missionaries from unjust persecutions. In fact the Holy See has done this under various circumstances, and all the Powers, more or less, have responded to her solicitude.

Because of the virtual prescription of the Holy See, other Powers may protect in the Levant Catholic persons and institutions of their own nationality by a right of their own recognized by the Porte, and those of other nationalities by concessions obtained from international treaties. But in fact they do not protect either the one or the other, save in a few cases where they intervene on their own initiative, because the missionaries even of their own nationality in consequence of the pontifical prohibition, do not, as a rule, invoke their protection. In the meanwhile France has a special title to protect the one and the other, resulting, as we have said above, from the mandate or the mission conceded to her by the Holy See, and in fact she alone does protect them, as the missionaries even of other nationalities, obedient to the voice of the Pope, apply only to her.

It is therefore evident that France, even in face of the other Powers which have obtained similar concessions from the Porte enjoys in the East a privileged position of right and of fact, which constitutes her, by preference over all other nations, the protector of Catholicism in the East, but it is also evident that she owes this position entirely to the Holy See. If the Holy See allowed the lapse of the order given to missionaries to apply to France, and withdrew the prohibition to address any other Power, *ipso facto* France, especially after her relations with the Holy See were ruptured, would lose her privileged position, and would be reduced to the level of the other Pow-



ers; and if the Holy See issued the same order and the same prohibition in favor of some other Power *ipso facto* the conditions of the latter would preponderate and France would be relegated to a secondary position such as that of the other Powers at the present moment.

From the law of nations and from international treaties is thus derived the right of protection common to the other Powers, but the privileged conditions of right and of fact which France now possesses depend upon a concession of the Holy See and can depend upon nothing else.

It is difficult to determine exactly the date of the pontifical law, which commands missionaries in the East to seek protection from French agents to the exclusion of all others, save the exception already indicated. This is how we believe the thing came about. Since the time when the French armies, headed by the doughty Geoffrey of Boulogne, triumphed over the mighty forces opposed to them by the Caliphs, wresting from the Moslems, in the first crusade, the dominion over the Holy Land, and planting in Jerusalem the standard of the cross, France has been regarded as the protector of Catholicism in the East. Then followed the Catholic zeal of the most Christian kings, so that, in fact, France alone protected all the Catholic interests, even those not her own, in the Levant, partly because among the great European Powers, she was the first to establish friendly relations with the Porte, and also because, better than any other Power on account of her strength, she could make her protection effective. The Holy See, not merely did not oppose itself to this fact, but approved of it, and this approval, little by little, became law, as if in reward for the services which France had rendered and was rendering to the Catholic cause,

and also to assure most effectively the care of the interests of the Church in the Orient.

Of this, her privileged position, France, during the course of the centuries, has always, and with reason, shown herself jealous. Here is how the French Ambassador expressed himself to the Holy See in a note dated July 8, 1825, and addressed to the Secretary of State:

"As for centuries she (the Crown of France) has protected the Catholic people and establishments in all the Orient, she looks upon it as one of her noblest privileges to continue to protect them forever. She is jealous of the authority and the prerogatives which she has gained by so many services rendered to religion, and which are necessary in order that she may continue to maintain and defend the latter in the countries subject to the domination of infidels."

Hence it has come about that whenever the missionaries in the Levant, especially in Palestine, have on any occasion invoked the protection of other Powers than France, the ministers of the latter have not failed to protest energetically to the Holy See (and they could not do so elsewhere), which has always taken this protest under serious consideration. From many instances let us cite only two, choosing them purposely from different centuries, whence may best appear the continuity of the line of conduct in the Holy See.

In 1774 the missionaries to the Holy Land in Cairo, finding themselves molested in the building of one of their hospitals, had recourse, through their President, to the mediation of the British Consul, because he was a friend of the head of the Janissaries through whom the molestation had come. Although the President asserted that he had in the first place sought the assistance of the French Consul, resident in that capital, as his sole pro-

tector, and that the latter had referred him to the British Consul, none the less the French Ambassador, M. Cannillac, by order of his most Christian Majesty, complained to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda because the President, without the knowledge of the French Consul, had turned to the English Consul and thus had renounced the protection of France, and he threatened that so long as these religious did not better observe their duty to the French representatives His Majesty would find himself obliged to give orders to his Ambassador at Constantinople that would not be very favorable to them. The Sacred Congregation commanded the Guardian of the Holy Land to remove from the hospital all the religious *cum praecepto iisdem fratribus ut ante discessum debeant se sistere Consuli Franciae et eidem humiliter actus excusationis praestare*, and together to choose a new President, with other religious, *qui proeses teneatur una cum sociis pariter se praesentare praedicto Consuli eumque precari de consueta sua protectione*. He then added: *Inhibeat (P. Guardianus) novo Praesidi ne amplius . . . recursum habent ad Consules aliarum nationum, cum quibus tamen ita se gerere debebit, ut, quantum fieri potest, nullam eis occasionem indignationis praebeat.*

A similar event repeated itself in 1844. Inasmuch as the Fathers of the Holy Land had refused to appeal to the protection of France in certain circumstances in which they had need of assistance, the Consul at Jerusalem made it a matter of complaint to the Sacred Congregation, which on June 3 answered him in the following terms:

"Without doubt the conduct is disapproved of those religious who, believing themselves in need of protection, did not seek it as they should have done from the Consulate of France, whom the Sacred Congregation will

cheerfully maintain in the high privilege of defending Catholicism in the East."

Even in more recent times the Holy See, sometimes in special cases, sometimes by general instructions, has confirmed the aforesaid prescription in favor of France. Suffice it to cite the instructions of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of May 22, 1888, in which we may read: "*Norunt (Delegati, Vicarii Apostolici cacterique in locis missionum Ordinarii) protectionem Gallicae Nationis per regiones Orientis a saeculis esse invectam et conventionibus etiam inter imperia initis firmatam. Qua propter hac in re nihil prorsus innovandum; protectio huiusmodi, ubicumque viget. Servanda religiose est, eaque de re monendi Missionarii, ut si quando auxilio indigeant, ad Consules aliosque Gallicae nationis administros recurrant. In iis etiam locis Missionum in quibus Austriacae nationis protectio invaluit, paritur absque immutatione teneatur.*"

This instruction is recorded and confirmed by Leo XIII in his letter of August 1, 1898, to Cardinal Langenieux, Archbishop of Rheims: "France has in the East a mission of its own which Providence had confided to her; a noble mission which has been consecrated not only by secular practice, but also by international treaties, as has been recognized in our own days by Our Congregation of the Propaganda in its declaration of May 22, 1888. The Holy See, in effect, does not wish to infringe in any way upon the glorious inheritance which France has received from her ancestors, and which beyond doubt she means to deserve to keep, by ever showing herself equal to her task."

## III.

THE RIGHT OF FRANCE TO PROTECT THE CATHOLIC  
INTERESTS IN THE FAR EAST.

If now we pass from the Levant to the Far East we shall find that the position of France in China, on the territory of international treaties, is even superior. In fact, in 1858 she concluded with the Celestial Empire the treaty of Tien-Tsin, of which article 13 declares:—

“The Christian religion, having for its essential object the bringing of men to virtue, the members of all Christian communities shall enjoy entire security for their persons, their properties, and the free exercise of their religious practices, and an efficacious protection will be given to the missionaries who will enter peacefully into the interior of the country, furnished with regular passports, which are spoken of in article 8. No opposition will be made by the authorities of the Chinese Empire to the right, which is recognized, of every individual in China to embrace Christianity if he so elects, and to follow its practices without rendering himself subject to any penalty inflicted for this act. All that has previously been written, proclaimed, or published in China, by order of the government, against Christian worship, is completely abrogated and remains without force in all the provinces of the Empire.”

By virtue of this article France has the right to protect throughout all the Chinese Empire, the persons and the institutions of her own nationality, although, nevertheless, China is not obliged to recognize the consular passports, this being a concession made to France which the Chinese government, may but need not, extend to other Powers, In fact, if the advices received by us are correct, this concession has been extended to other Powers who have

a representative at Peking, in particular to Italy and to Germany in 1888; also, Italy and Germany obtained in addition that the *visé* should be refused by the Chinese authorities to passports granted by any other foreign legation to Italian and German subjects. To remove all possibility of friction a further agreement was entered into in 1901 between Italy and France. This declared that no objection would be made to the protection which the Italian legation would exercise in favor of the Italian missionaries in China, that these might appeal to their own legation, but it was not considered possible to restrain the Italian missionaries from invoking the protection of the French legation. Even without this understanding France could make no objection to the Chinese government, as the latter might have responded that the treaty of Tien-Tsin did not prohibit it from granting to other Powers, above all for their own subjects, the same rights conceded to France.

Perhaps this understanding prevents France from appealing to the Holy See for the withdrawal of the demands for protection made accidentally by Italian missionaries to the Italian legation. But it is evident that this does not in any way tie the hands of the Holy See.

We do not know, however, that any other Power besides France has received from the Chinese government the general right of protection. While other Powers have a limited right of protection over their own nationality, France alone has a general right, which constitutes her the protector of Christianity in China. In consequence the Christian persons and institutions which belong to France or to China or to any nation unrepresented at Peking, have no other protector than France, the others can appeal either to the representative of France, or to the representative of their own government. France, there-

fore, by virtue of the same treaty of Tien-Tsin, enjoys in China a preponderant and privileged position.

This position, moreover, has its complement from the Holy See, which in China as in the Levant has conferred upon France the mandate or the mission to protect the interests of the Catholic Church. Hence, in China, also, France has a double title to intervene: that, to wit, which comes to her from the treaty of Tien-Tsin, and that which she derives from the confidential mandate or mission of the Holy See. In addition even in China the Holy See has advised the missionaries of whatever nationality to have recourse to the representative of France and not to any other. The circular above referred to of the Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith, dated May 22, 1888, embraces not only the East, but also the Far East. And in many special cases of still recent date which could easily be cited the same Sacred Congregation has always sustained the exclusive right of France. This command of the Holy See makes France the protector in fact of the missionaries of every nationality, because these, in obedience to pontifical precept, have recourse alone to the French representative, neglecting even the representative of their own government.

From all this it is clear that, even in China, France owes to the Holy See a large part of its aforesaid preponderant and privileged position. If the Holy See should withdraw the command imposed upon the missionaries, France would still preserve an effective protection over the Catholics of France, China or other country not represented at the Court of Peking, but she would undoubtedly lose, especially after a rupture of relations with the Holy See, the protection of the Catholics of other nationalities;—the influence of France would be halved.

## IV.

HONORS RESERVED TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF FRANCE  
IN THE EAST AND IN THE FAR EAST.

The right of protection is the essential element of the French protectorate, the honorary prerogatives reserved for her representatives form the accessory element. Hence it follows that in the countries where she does not possess or no longer exercises the right of protection this distinction must perforce be made: *Accessorium sequitur principale*.

This observation having been premised, let us note that the honorary prerogatives reserved in the East for the representatives of France, as protector of the Catholic church, are of a double species;—some were conceded by the Holy See by actual and written deed; the others introduced themselves little by little by custom tolerated or tacitly approved by the same Holy See.

As a sequence to certain questions raised between the Prefect of the Mission of Tripoli, and the French Consul there resident in 1741, concerning certain honors claimed by each, a determination was reached as to the honors which should be paid to the French Consuls in the Levant; and there was then published a "Regulation by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of 1742 as to the honors to be paid to the French Consuls in the Levant." This regulation, divided into nine articles, examined and corrected by the Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith in certain points, after the manner of previous decrees, might almost be called in ecclesiastical language: "*The Cereemonial of French Representatives in the Levant.*" In this document it is established that on the entrance of the Consul into his duties,



a solemn *Te Deum* should be sung in the mission church ; that in the church there should be a distinct place for the Consul ; that the Prefect of the Mission should send a servant to advise the Consul of the hour for Mass, that on several designated occasions prayers should be said in the Church for the Most Christian King (nowadays for the Republic) and prescribing other liturgical observances which might raise a smile among not a few who are associated with Masonry, but which indicate the special deference of the Church for the French nation, and which serve greatly among oriental nations to exalt the personal authority of the French Consuls over their colleagues of other nations, as well as the prestige of France which they represent. This regulation was established, it is true, on the occasion of the episode at Tripoli, but it is found to have been extended also to all the missions of the Levant, and especially to those of the Holy Land, and not only was it put into action at the time of its publication, but it was also renewed in all its original vigor successively in 1806, after the changes and the disorders that had occurred in France, again in 1817, and finally in 1848.

The honors granted in 1742 concerned France alone, as appears from the very title of the *Regulation*, so that these ceremonials have formed, until now, an exclusive privilege of that nation. In fact, not only do we find that they were never conceded to any other Power, but, on the contrary, that there was an express declaration in 1848 that they were reserved for France. And on the revival in that year of the question of consular honors it was referred to the Secretary of State, who decided in favor of the observance of the revived regulation in a note sent on October 2 to the Ambassador of the French republic in Rome, M. le Baron d' Harcourt, and signed

by His Eminence, Cardinal Soglia, Secretary of State to His Holiness. From this note it would appear that the aforesaid regulation is meant for the *sole protecting Power*, and that the honors described must be confined to the French Consuls, *as representing the Power that is the protector of Catholics, to the exclusion of those of other Catholic Powers*. At other times, also, in correcting some transgression, France has maintained her exclusive right to these ceremonials before the Holy See, which has never failed to agree with her.

There is, however, one exception, if indeed, we may call it such. In 1867 a complaint made by the Spanish Ambassador that in Beyrouth the Capuchins had not paid due honor to the Consul of His Catholic Majesty in the religious functions of the name-day of the Queen, was endorsed over to Monsignor Valerga for instructions. The latter answered that a similar controversy between the French Consul and the Consuls of other Catholic Powers had been adjusted in Jerusalem in 1848, when the French Consul *with the approval of his government* had abandoned the pretensions of his predecessors, from which it appeared that such ecclesiastical honors could not be conferred upon the Consuls of other Powers without his consent, and that subsequently the Patriarchate could only confer such honors in answer to a request which the Consuls must present every time. This exception which, with the consent of the French government, and with the restrictions noted, was introduced at Jerusalem, was subsequently extended also to Syria and Egypt.

Besides these honorific privileges conceded in the Levant to French Consuls by an actual written deed, there are others, as we have said, introduced by custom, and therefore not uniform everywhere, and not always con-

stant in the same place. To cite a few, the representatives of France are wont to assist or to preside at scholastic examinations and experiments, and at the distribution of prizes to the alumni of schools. Nor is this all. When a new Delegate of the Holy See reaches the place of his mission, the French representative is the person who arranges officially with the government for the civil honors which are to be paid to the Delegate; he goes to receive him on his arrival; accompanies him, taking a seat in his carriage, to church; assists in full uniform at the sacred function; notifies his coming to other Consuls and also to the religious community, and presents him to the civil authorities. At the end of the sacred function in church, the Delegate repairs to the French consulate to make the first visit, which the Consul immediately returns.

Likewise in the course of the pontifical mission, the French representative, at least for a certain time and in certain quarters, feigns that the Apostolic Delegate demands audience through his medium with the civil authorities, accompanying him either personally or by proxy to the palace, and remaining present at the conversation; a thing which everybody will recognize as an immense distinction. In short, it may be said in general that in the East, in the missions of which the French protectorate flourishes, no solemn external act is celebrated, to which the representative of France, in preference to all others, is not invited to be present with honors corresponding to his rank.

It is useless to observe that all these honorific prerogatives, either written or prescribed by usage, have no relation whatever to the agreements and the international treaties concluded between different Powers and the Porte; they appertain to the representatives of France in

the Levant solely through the act of the Holy See, which wishes in this fashion to reward the protection which France has lent it, and to elevate, in the eyes of the Oriental populations, the dignity of the nation that is the protector of the Church. A nod from the Holy See would suffice to make all this honorary ceremonial fall before a treaty, indeed, it would suffice if the Holy See no longer looked after its maintenance, for it would most certainly cease, at least in other than French missions, and especially during an actual state of war between France and China.

The afore-cited regulation of the Sacred College of the Propaganda in 1742 is in force only in the Levant, consequently it is not applicable to the Far East. Nevertheless even in China the missionaries of every nationality seek in a special manner to honor the representatives of France, either in their religious ceremonies or in the solemn civil acts of the missions, although they are not obliged to do this by written order; and the Holy See not merely does not disapprove, but regards with pleasure these honors reserved for the representatives of the nation which is the protector of the Church in the Celestial Empire.

A ROMAN PRELATE.

